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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

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PREFACE

Volume 21 contains Lenin's works of the period between August 1914 and December 1915. In these writings, Lenin raised the banner of struggle against the imperialist war and international social-chauvinism, and laid the foundations of the Bolshevik Party's theory and tactics on questions of war, peace and revolution.

A group of these works, viz., "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War", "The European War and International Socialism", "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", "The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War", "Socialism and War", deal, in the main, with an appraisal of the war, and provide a definition of the tasks confronting the proletarian party and the world working-class movement.

A considerable part of the volume consists of works that expose international social-chauvinism and centrism, and reveal the causes that brought about the collapse of the Second International. Among these works are: "The Collapse of the Second International", "On the Struggle Against Chauvinism", "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International", and "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, September 5-8, 1915".

A number of the works in this volume are directed against social-chauvinism in Russia, viz.: "The Russian Brand of Südekum", "Under a False Flag", "The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy", "The Defeat of Russia and the Revolutionary Crisis", and "On the Two Lines in the Revolution".

In the article "On the Slogan of a United States of Europe", which was written in August 1915, Lenin formulated

his masterly conclusion on the possibility of victory for socialism, initially in several countries, or even in a single country.

Also in this volume is the work entitled "Karl Marx", which gives a concise yet exhaustive characterisation of the Marxist doctrine.

Four hitherto unpublished works have been included in this volume. In the articles "To the International Socialist Committee, I.S.C." and "Letter to *Vorwärts* and Wiener *Arbeiter-Zeitung*" Lenin exposes the imperialist nature of World War I and the betrayal of the working class's interests by the leaders of the Second International. The following works: "The Kind of 'Unity' Larin Proclaimed at the Swedish Congress" and "Letter from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Editors of *Nashe Slovo*" are directed against liquidationism and social-chauvinism in Russia.

THE TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE EUROPEAN WAR[1]

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ON THE EUROPEAN WAR

Reports have reached us from most reliable sources, regarding a conference recently held by leaders of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, on the question of the European war. The conference was not of a wholly official nature, since the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. has as yet been unable to gather, as a result of the numerous arrests and unprecedented persecution by the tsarist government. We do, however, have precise information that the conference gave expression to views held by the most influential circles of the R.S.D.L.P.

The conference adopted the following resolution, whose full text we are quoting below as a document:

RESOLUTION OF A GROUP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

1. The European and world war has the clearly defined character of a bourgeois, imperialist and dynastic war. A struggle for markets and for freedom to loot foreign countries, a striving to suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democracy in the individual countries, a desire to deceive, disunite, and slaughter the proletarians of all countries by setting the wage slaves of one nation

against those of another so as to benefit the bourgeoisie—these are the only real content and significance of the war.

2. The conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, the strongest and the most influential in the Second International (1889-1914), a party which has voted for war credits and repeated the bourgeois-chauvinist phrases of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie, is sheer betrayal of socialism. Under no circumstances can the conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party be condoned, even if we assume that the party was absolutely weak and had temporarily to bow to the will of the bourgeois majority of the nation. This party has in fact adopted a national-liberal policy.

3. The conduct of the Belgian and French Social-Democratic party leaders, who have betrayed socialism by entering bourgeois governments,[2] is just as reprehensible.

4. The betrayal of socialism by most leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies the ideological and political bankruptcy of the International. This collapse has been mainly caused by the actual prevalence in it of petty-bourgeois opportunism, the bourgeois nature and the danger of which have long been indicated by the finest representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The opportunists had long been preparing to wreck the Second International by denying the socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead, by rejecting the class struggle with its inevitable conversion at certain moments into civil war, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the guise of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland, and ignoring or rejecting the fundamental truth of socialism, long ago set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*, that the workingmen have no country; by confining themselves, in the struggle against militarism, to a sentimental philistine point of view, instead of recognising the need for a revolutionary war by the proletarians of all countries, against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessary utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarianism and bourgeois legality, and forgetting that illegal forms of organ-

isation and agitation are imperative at times of crises. One of the organs of international opportunism, *Sozialistische Monatshefte*,[3] which has long taken a national-liberal stand, is very properly celebrating its victory over European socialism. The so-called Centre of the German and other Social-Democratic parties has in actual fact faint-heartedly capitulated to the opportunists. It must be the task of the future International resolutely and irrevocably to rid itself of this bourgeois trend in socialism.

5. With reference to the bourgeois and chauvinist sophisms being used by the bourgeois parties and the governments of the two chief rival nations of the Continent—the German and the French—to fool the masses most effectively, and being copied by both the overt and covert socialist opportunists, who are slavishly following in the wake of the bourgeoisie, one must particularly note and brand the following:

When the German bourgeois refer to the defence of the fatherland and to the struggle against tsarism, and insist on the freedom of cultural and national development, they are lying, because it has always been the policy of Prussian Junkerdom, headed by Wilhelm II, and the big bourgeoisie of Germany, to defend the tsarist monarchy; whatever the outcome of the war, they are sure to try to bolster it. They are lying because, in actual fact, the Austrian bourgeoisie have launched a robber campaign against Serbia, and the German bourgeoisie are oppressing Danes, Poles, and Frenchmen (in Alsace-Lorraine); they are waging a war of aggression against Belgium and France so as to loot the richer and freer countries; they have organised an offensive at a moment which seemed best for the use of the latest improvements in military matériel, and on the eve of the introduction of the so-called big military programme in Russia.

Similarly, when the French bourgeois refer to the defence of the fatherland, etc., they are lying, because in actual fact they are defending countries that are backward in capitalist technology and are developing more slowly, and because they spend thousands of millions to hire Russian tsarism's Black-Hundred[4] gangs for a war of aggression, i.e., the looting of Austrian and German lands.

Neither of the two belligerent groups of nations is second to the other in cruelty and atrocities in warfare.

6. It is the first and foremost task of Russian Social-Democrats to wage a ruthless and all-out struggle against Great-Russian and tsarist-monarchist chauvinism, and against the sophisms used by the Russian liberals, Cadets,[5] a section of the Narodniks, and other bourgeois parties, in defence of that chauvinism. From the viewpoint of the working class and the toiling masses of all the peoples of Russia, the defeat of the tsarist monarchy and its army, which oppress Poland, the Ukraine, and many other peoples of Russia, and foment hatred among the peoples so as to increase Great-Russian oppression of the other nationalities, and consolidate the reactionary and barbarous government of the tsar's monarchy, would be the lesser evil by far.

7. The following must now be the slogans of Social-Democracy:

First, all-embracing propaganda, involving the army and the theatre of hostilities as well, for the socialist revolution and the need to use weapons, not against their brothers, the wage slaves in other countries, but against the reactionary and bourgeois governments and parties of all countries; the urgent necessity of organising illegal nuclei and groups in the armies of all nations, to conduct such propaganda in all languages; a merciless struggle against the chauvinism and "patriotism" of the philistines and bourgeoisie of all countries without exception. In the struggle against the leaders of the present International, who have betrayed socialism, it is imperative to appeal to the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses, who bear the entire burden of the war and are in most cases hostile to opportunism and chauvinism.

Secondly, as an immediate slogan, propaganda for republics in (Germany, Poland, Russia, and other countries, and for the transforming of all the separate states of Europe into a republican United States of Europe.[6]

Thirdly and particularly, a struggle against the tsarist monarchy and Great-Russian, Pan-Slavist chauvinism, and advocacy of a revolution in Russia, as well as of the liberation of and self-determination for nationalities oppressed by Russia, coupled with the immediate slogans of a demo-

cratic republic, the confiscation of the landed estates, and an eight-hour working day.

A group of Social-Democrats,
members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party

Written not later than August 24 (September 6), 1914

The introduction *The Russian Social-Democrats on the European War* is published for the first time

The introduction is published according to the manuscript; the theses (resolution) according to a copy made by N. K. Krupskaya

The theses (resolution) were first published in full in 1929 in the second and third editions of the works of V. I. Lenin, Volume 18

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

To the socialist it is not the horrors of war that are the hardest to endure—we are always for "*santa guerra di tutti gli oppressi per la conquista delle* loro *patrie!*"*—but the horrors of the treachery shown by the leaders of present-day socialism, the horrors of the collapse of the present-day International.

Is it not treachery to Social-Democracy when we see the German socialists' amazing change of front (after Germany's declaration of war); the false phrases about a war of liberation against tsarism; forgetfulness of German imperialism, forgetfulness of the rape of Serbia; the bourgeois interests involved in the war against Britain, etc., etc.? Chauvinist patriots vote for the Budget!

Have the socialists of France and Belgium not shown the same kind of treachery? They are excellent at exposing German imperialism, but, unfortunately they are amazingly purblind with regard to British, French, and particularly the barbarous Russian imperialism. They fail to see the disgraceful fact that, for decades on end, the French bourgeoisie have been paying out thousands of millions for the hire of the Black-Hundred gangs of Russian tsarism, and that the latter has been crushing the non-Russian majority in our country, robbing Poland, oppressing the Great-Russian workers and peasants, and so on.

At such a time, the socialist feels refreshed when he reads of the bitter truth so courageously and straightforwardly told by *Avanti!*[7] to *Südekum*,[8] the truth that paper

---

* "a holy war of all the oppressed, for the conquest of their *own* fatherland!"—*Ed.*

told the German socialists, namely, that they are *imperialists*, i.e., chauvinists. One feels even more refreshed on reading the article by Zibordi (*Avanti!*, Sept. 2) exposing not only the German and the Austrian brands of chauvinism (which is to the advantage of the *Italian* bourgeoisie), but also the *French*, an article which shows that this war is a war of the bourgeoisie of *all* lands!

Avanti!'s stand and the Zibordi article—[as well as the resolution of the group of revolutionary Social-Democrats (at a recent conference in a Scandinavian country)*]—shows us what is right and what is wrong in the usual phrase about the collapse of the International. This phrase is reiterated with malicious relish by the bourgeois and the opportunists (*riformisti di destra***), and with bitterness by socialists (*Volksrecht*[9] in Zurich, and *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung*[10]). There is a great deal of truth in the phrase! The downfall of the *leaders* and of most of the parties in the *present-day* International is a *fact*. (Compare *Vorwärts*,[11] Wiener *Arbeiter-Zeitung*[12] and *Hamburger Echo*[13] versus *l'Humanité*,[14] and the appeals of the Belgian and the French socialists versus the "reply" of the German *Vorstand*.[15]) The masses have *not yet* spoken out!

However, Zibordi is a thousand times right in saying that it is not a matter of "*dottrina è sbagliata*", or of the "*rimedio*" of socialism being "*errato*", but "*semplicemente non erano in dose bastante*", "*gli altri socialisti non sono 'abbastanza socialisti'*".***

It is not socialism that has collapsed, in the shape of the *present-day European* International, but an insufficient socialism, i.e., *opportunism* and *reformism*. It is this "tendency"—which exists *everywhere*, in all countries, and has found such vivid expression in Bissolati and Co. in Italy—that has collapsed, for it has for years been *teaching* forgetfulness of the class struggle, *etc.*, *etc.—from the resolution*.[16]

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* See pp. 15-19 of this volume.—*Ed.*

** the reformists of the Right.—*Ed.*

*** ...it is not a matter of "theory being wrong", or of the "remedy" of socialism being "wrong" but "simply of its not being available in sufficient doses" and of "certain socialists not being 'sufficiently socialist'".—*Ed.*

Zibordi is right when he sees the European socialists' main guilt in "*cercano nobilitare con postumi motivi la loro incapacità a prevenire, la loro necessità di partecipare al macello*", in the fact that they "*preferisce fingere di fare per amore ciò ch'è* [European socialism]* *costretto a fare per forza*", that the socialists "solidarizzarono *ciascuno con la propria nazione, col Governo* borghese *della propria nazione ... in una misura da formare una delusione per noi* [also in all socialists who are *not* opportunists] *e un compiacimento per tutti i non socialisti d'Italia*"** (and not of Italy alone, but of all countries; cf., for instance, with Russian liberalism).

Even given the total *incapacità* and impotence of the European socialists, the behaviour of their leaders reveals treachery and baseness: the workers have been driven into the slaughter, while their leaders vote *in favour* and join *governments*! Even with their total impotence, they should have voted *against*, should *not have joined* their governments and uttered chauvinistic infamies; should *not* have shown solidarity with their "nation", and should *not* have defended their "own" bourgeoisie, they should have unmasked its vileness.

Everywhere there is the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, everywhere the ignoble preparations for carnage; if Russian tsarism is particularly infamous and barbarous (and more reactionary than all the rest), then German imperialism too is monarchist: its aims are feudal and dynastic, and its gross bourgeoisie are less free than the French. The Russian Social-Democrats were right in saying that *to them* the defeat of tsarism was the lesser evil, for *their* immediate enemy was, first and foremost, *Great-Russian*

* Interpolations in square brackets (within passages quoted by Lenin) have been introduced by Lenin, unless otherwise indicated.—*Ed.*

** ...their attempts to backdate their justification, with plausible excuses, both of their inability to prevent the carnage and their need to take part in the latter", ... they "prefer to create the semblance of doing voluntarily [European socialism] what they are forced to do of necessity", that the socialists have "*lined up* with their own particular nation, with the latter's *bourgeois* government ... in a measure capable of engendering disappointment in us [also in all socialists who are *not* opportunists] and delight all non-socialists in Italy".—*Ed.*

chauvinism, but that in each country the socialists (who are not opportunists) ought to see their main enemy in their "own" ("home-made") chauvinism.

Is it true, however, that the "*incapacità*" is so very absolute? Is that so? *Fucilare*?* *Heldentod*** and a miserable death? All this *in vantaggio di* un altra patria?*** Not always!! The *initiative* was possible and even obligatory. Illegal propaganda and civil war would be more *honest*, and obligatory for socialists (*this* is what the Russian socialists are calling for).

For Instance, they take comfort in the illusion that the war will end and things will settle down. ... But no! For the collapse of the present-day (1889-1914) International not to turn into the collapse of socialism, for the *masses* not to turn away, and to prevent the domination of anarchism and syndicalism (just as shamefully [as] in France), the truth must be looked in the face. Whoever wins, Europe is threatened by the *growth* of chauvinism, by "*revenge-seeking*". etc. Militarism, whether German or Great-Russian, fosters counter-chauvinism and the like.

It is our duty to draw the conclusion of the complete collapse of the opportunism, the reformism, so impressively proclaimed in Italy (and so decisively rejected by the Italian comrades[17] and ****

N. B. insert: the contemptuous and scornful attitude of *Die Neue Zeit*[18] towards the Italian socialists and *Avanti!*: petty concessions to opportunism! "The golden mean." |The so-called "Centre"=lackeys of the opportunists.|

Written in late August-September 1914

First published on August 1, 1929, in *Pravda* No. 174

Published according to the manuscript

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* Shoot down?—*Ed.*

** A hero's death.—*Ed.*

*** For the sake of another country?—*Ed.*

**** The manuscript breaks off here. The next two sentences are marginal notes.—*Ed.*

THE WAR AND RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Written prior to September 28 (October 11), 1914

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THE WAR AND RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

Written prior to September 28 (October 11), 1914

Published on November 1, 1914 in Sotsial-Demokrat No. 33

Published according to the newspaper text, checked against the manuscript

The European war, which the governments and the bourgeois parties of all countries have been preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the extreme intensification of the struggle for markets in the latest—the imperialist—stage of capitalist development in the advanced countries, and the dynastic interests of the more backward East-European monarchies were inevitably bound to bring about this war, and have done so. Seizure of territory and subjugation of other nations, the ruining of competing nations and the plunder of their wealth, distracting the attention of the working masses from the internal political crises in Russia, Germany, Britain and other countries, disuniting and nationalist stultification of the workers, and the extermination of their vanguard so as to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat—these comprise the sole actual content, importance and significance of the present war.

It is primarily on Social-Democracy that the duty rests of revealing the true meaning of the war, and of ruthlessly exposing the falsehood, sophistry and "patriotic" phrasemongering spread by the ruling classes, the landowners and the bourgeoisie, in defence of the war.

One group of belligerent nations is headed by the German bourgeoisie. It is hoodwinking the working class and the toiling masses by asserting that this is a war in defence of the fatherland, freedom and civilisation, for the liberation of the peoples oppressed by tsarism, and for the destruction of reactionary tsarism. In actual fact, however, this bourgeoisie, which servilely grovels to the Prussian Junkers, headed by Wilhelm II, has always been a most faithful ally of tsarism, and an enemy of the revolutionary movement of Russia's workers and peasants. In fact, whatever the outcome of the war, this bourgeoisie will together with the

Junkers, exert every effort to support the tsarist monarchy against a revolution in Russia.

In fact, the German bourgeoisie has launched a robber campaign against Serbia, with the object of subjugating her and throttling the national revolution of the Southern Slavs, at the same time sending the bulk of its military forces against the freer countries, Belgium and France, so as to plunder richer competitors. In fact, the German bourgeoisie, which has been spreading the fable that it is waging a war of defence, chose the moment it thought most favourable for war, making use of its latest improvements in military matériel and forestalling the rearmament already planned and decided upon by Russia and France.

The other group of belligerent nations is headed by the British and the French bourgeoisie, who are hoodwinking the working class and the toiling masses by asserting that they are waging a war for the defence of their countries, for freedom and civilisation and against German militarism and despotism. In actual fact, this bourgeoisie has long been spending thousands of millions to hire the troops of Russian tsarism, the most reactionary and barbarous monarchy in Europe, and prepare them for an attack on Germany.

In fact, the struggle of the British and the French bourgeoisie is aimed at the seizure of the German colonies, and the ruining of a rival nation, whose economic development has been more rapid. In pursuit of this noble aim, the "advanced" "democratic" nations are helping the savage tsarist regime to still more throttle Poland, the Ukraine, etc., and more thoroughly crush the revolution in Russia.

Neither group of belligerents is inferior to the other in spoiliation, atrocities and the boundless brutality of war; however, to hoodwink the proletariat and distract its attention from the only genuine war of liberation, namely, a civil war against the bourgeoisie both of its "own" and of "foreign" countries—to achieve so lofty an aim—the bourgeoisie of each country is trying, with the help of false phrases about patriotism, to extol the significance of its "own" national war, asserting that it is out to defeat the enemy, not for plunder and the seizure of territory, but for the "liberation" of all other peoples except its own.

But the harder the governments and the bourgeoisie of all countries try to disunite the workers and pit them against one another, and the more savagely they enforce, for this lofty aim, martial law and the military censorship (measures which even now, in wartime, are applied against the "internal" foe more harshly than against the external), the more pressingly is it the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, and its socialist convictions against the unbridled chauvinism of the "patriotic" bourgeois cliques in all countries. If class-conscious workers were to give up this aim, this would mean renunciation of their aspirations for freedom and democracy, to say nothing of their socialist aspirations.

It is with a feeling of the most bitter disappointment that we have to record that the socialist parties of the leading European countries have failed to discharge this duty, the behaviour of these parties' leaders, particularly in Germany, bordering on downright betrayal of the cause of socialism. At this time of supreme and historic importance, most of the leaders of the present Socialist International, the Second (1889-1914), are trying to substitute nationalism for socialism. As a result of their behaviour, the workers' parties of these countries did not oppose the governments' criminal conduct, but called upon the working class to *identify* its position with that of the imperialist governments. The leaders of the International committed an act of treachery against socialism by voting for war credits, by reiterating the chauvinist ("patriotic") slogans of the bourgeoisie of their "own" countries, by justifying and defending the war, by joining the bourgeois governments of the belligerent countries, and so on and so forth. The most influential socialist leaders and the most influential organs of the socialist press of present-day Europe hold views that are chauvinist, bourgeois and liberal, and in no way socialist. The responsibility for thus disgracing socialism falls primarily on the German Social-Democrats, who were the strongest and most influential party in the Second International. But neither can one justify the French socialists, who have accepted ministerial posts in the government of that very bourgeoisie which betrayed its country and allied itself with Bismarck so as to crush the Commune.

The German and the Austrian Social-Democrats are attempting to justify their support for the war by arguing that they are thereby fighting against Russian tsarism. We Russian Social-Democrats declare that we consider such justification sheer sophistry. In our country the revolutionary movement against tsarism has again assumed tremendous proportions during the past few years. This movement has always been headed by the working class of Russia. The political strikes of the last few years, which have involved millions of workers, have had as their slogan the overthrow of tsarism and the establishment of a democratic republic. During his visit to Nicholas II on the very eve of the war, Poincaré, President of the French Republic, could see for himself, in the streets of St. Petersburg, barricades put up by Russian workers. The Russian proletariat has not flinched from any sacrifice to rid humanity of the disgrace of the tsarist monarchy. We must, however, say that if there is anything that, under certain conditions, can delay the downfall of tsarism, anything that can help tsarism in its struggle against the whole of Russia's democracy, then that is the present war, which has placed the purses of the British, the French and the Russian bourgeois at the disposal of tsarism, to further the latter's reactionary aims. If there is anything that can hinder the revolutionary struggle of the Russia's working class against tsarism, then that is the behaviour of the German and the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders, which the chauvinist press of Russia is continually holding up to us as an example.

Even assuming that German Social-Democracy was so weak that it was compelled to refrain from all revolutionary action, it should not have joined the chauvinist camp, or taken steps which gave the Italian socialists reason to say that the German Social-Democratic leaders were dishonouring the banner of the proletarian International.

Our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, has made, and will continue to make great sacrifices in connection with the war. The whole of our working-class legal press has been suppressed. Most working-class associations have been disbanded, and a large number of our comrades have been arrested and exiled. Yet our parliamentary representatives—the Russian Social-Democratic Labour

group in the Duma—considered it their imperative socialist duty not to vote for the war credits, and even to walk out of the Duma, so as to express their protest the more energetically; they considered it their duty to brand the European governments' policy as imperialist. Though the tsar's government has increased its tyranny tenfold, the Social-Democratic workers of Russia are already publishing their first illegal manifestos against the war, thus doing their duty to democracy and to the International.

While the collapse of the Second International has given rise to a sense of burning shame in revolutionary Social-Democrats—as represented by the minority of German Social-Democrats and the finest Social-Democrats in the neutral countries; while socialists in both Britain and France have been speaking up against the chauvinism of most Social-Democratic parties; while the opportunists, as represented, for instance, by the German *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which have long held a national-liberal stand, are with good reason celebrating their victory over European socialism—the worst possible service is being rendered to the proletariat by those who vacillate between opportunism and revolutionary Social-Democracy (like the "Centre" in the German Social-Democratic Party), by those who are trying to hush up the collapse of the Second International or to disguise it with diplomatic phrases.

On the contrary, this collapse must be frankly recognised and its causes understood, so as to make it possible to build up a new and more lasting socialist unity of the workers of all countries.

The opportunists have wrecked the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle congresses,[19] which made it binding on socialists of all countries to combat chauvinism in all and any conditions, made it binding on socialists to reply to any war begun by the bourgeoisie and governments, with intensified propaganda of civil war and social revolution. The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism, which developed from the features of a now bygone (and so-called "peaceful") period of history, and in recent years has some practically to dominate the International. The opportunist have long been preparing the ground for this collapse by denying the socialist

revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead; by rejecting the class struggle with its inevitable conversion at certain moments into civil war, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the guise of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland, and ignoring or rejecting the fundamental truth of socialism, long ago set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*, that the workingmen have no country; by confining themselves, in the struggle against militarism, to a sentimental, philistine point of view, instead of recognising the need for a revolutionary war by the proletarians of all countries, against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessary utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarianism and bourgeois legality, and forgetting that illegal forms of organisation and propaganda are imperative at times of crises. The natural "appendage" to opportunism—one that is just as bourgeois and hostile to the proletarian, i.e., the Marxist, point of view—namely, the anarcho-syndicalist trend, has been marked by a no less shamefully smug reiteration of the slogans of chauvinism, during the present crisis.

The aims of socialism at the present time cannot be fulfilled, and real international unity of the workers cannot be achieved, without a decisive break with opportunism, and without explaining its inevitable fiasco to the masses.

It must be the primary task of Social-Democrats in every country to combat that country's chauvinism. In Russia this chauvinism has overcome the bourgeois liberals (the "Constitutional-Democrats"), and part of the Narodniks—down to the Socialist-Revolutionaries[20] and the "Right" Social-Democrats. (In particular, the chauvinist utterances of E. Smirnov, P. Maslov and G. Plekhanov, for example, should be branded; they have been taken up and widely used by the bourgeois "patriotic" press.)

In the present situation, it is impossible to determine, from the standpoint of the international proletariat, the defeat of which of the two groups of belligerent nations would be the lesser evil for socialism. But to us Russian Social-Democrats there cannot be the slightest doubt that, from the standpoint of the working class and of the toiling masses of all the nations of Russia, the defeat of the tsarist

monarchy, the most reactionary and barbarous of governments, which is oppressing the largest number of nations and the greatest mass of the population of Europe and Asia, would be the lesser evil.

The formation of a republican United States of Europe should be the immediate political slogan of Europe's Social-Democrats. In contrast with the bourgeoisie, which is ready to "promise" anything in order to draw the proletariat into the mainstream of chauvinism, the Social-Democrats will explain that this slogan is absolutely false and meaningless without the revolutionary overthrow of the German, the Austrian and the Russian monarchies.

Since Russia is most backward and has not yet completed its bourgeois revolution, it still remains the task of Social-Democrats in that country to achieve the three fundamental conditions for consistent democratic reform, viz., a democratic republic (with complete equality and self-determination for all nations), confiscation of the landed estates, and an eight-hour working day. But in all the advanced countries the war has placed on the order of the day the slogan of socialist revolution, a slogan that is the more urgent, the more heavily the burden of war presses upon the shoulders of the proletariat, and the more active its future role must become in the re-creation of Europe, after the horrors of the present "patriotic" barbarism in conditions of the tremendous technological progress of large-scale capitalism. The bourgeoisie's use of wartime laws to gag the proletariat makes it imperative for the latter to create illegal forms of agitation and organisation. Let the opportunists "preserve" the legal organisations at the price of treachery to their convictions—revolutionary Social-Democrats will utilise the organisational experience and links of the working class so as to create illegal forms of struggle for socialism, forms appropriate to a period of crisis, and to unite the workers, not with the chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries, but with the workers of all countries. The proletarian International has not gone under and will not go under. Notwithstanding all obstacles, the masses of the workers will create a new International. Opportunism's present triumph will be short-lived. The greater the sacrifices imposed by the war the clearer will it become to the mass of the workers

that the opportunists have betrayed the workers' cause and that the weapons must be turned against the government and the bourgeoisie of each country.

The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan, one that follows from the experience of the Commune, and outlined in the Basle resolution (1912); it has been dictated by all the conditions of an imperialist war between highly developed bourgeois countries. However difficult that transformation may seem at any given moment, socialists will never relinquish systematic, persistent and undeviating preparatory work in this direction now that war has become a fact.

It is only along this path that the proletariat will be able to shake off its dependence on the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and, in one form or another and more or less rapidly, take decisive steps towards genuine freedom for the nations and towards socialism.

Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries!

Long live a proletarian International, freed from opportunism!

Central Committee
of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour
Party

THE POSITION AND TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The gravest feature of the present crisis is that the majority of official representatives of European socialism have succumbed to bourgeois nationalism, to chauvinism. It is with good reason that the bourgeois press of all countries writes of them now with derision, now with condescending praise. To anyone who wants to remain a socialist there can be no more important duty than to reveal the causes of this crisis in socialism and analyse the tasks of the International.

There are such that are afraid to admit that the crisis or, to put it more accurately, the collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism.

Reference is made to the unanimity, for instance, among French socialists, and to the fact that the old groups in socialism have supposedly changed their stands in the question of the war. Such references, however, are groundless.

Advocacy of class collaboration; abandonment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; losing sight of the fact that the borderlines of nationality and country are historically transient; making a fetish of bourgeois legality; renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of repelling the "broad masses of the population" (meaning the petty bourgeoisie)—such, doubtlessly, are the ideological foundations of opportunism. And it is from such soil that the present chauvinist and patriotic

frame of mind of most Second International leaders has developed. Observers representing the most various points of view have long noted that the opportunists are in fact prevalent in the Second International's leadership. The war has merely brought out, rapidly and saliently, the true measure of this prevalence. There is nothing surprising in the extraordinary acuteness of the crisis having led to a series of reshufflings within the old groups. On the whole, however, such changes have affected only individuals. The trends within socialism have remained the same.

Complete unanimity does not exist among French socialists. Even Vaillant, who, with Guesde, Plekhanov, Hervé and others, is following a chauvinist line, has had to admit that he has received a number of letters of protest from French socialists, who say that the war is imperialist in character and that the French bourgeoisie is to blame for its outbreak no less than the bourgeoisie of any other country. Nor should it be overlooked that these voices of protest are being smothered, not only by triumphant opportunism, but also by the military censorship. With the British, the Hyndman group (the British Social-Democrats—the British Socialist Party[21]) has completely sunk into chauvinism, as have also most of the semi-liberal leaders of the trade unions. Resistance to chauvinism has come from MacDonald and Keir Hardie of the opportunist Independent Labour Party.[22] This, of course, is an exception to the rule. However, certain revolutionary Social-Democrats who have long been in opposition to Hyndman have now left the British Socialist Party. With the Germans the situation is clear: the opportunists have won; they are jubilant, and feel quite in their element. Headed by Kautsky, the "Centre" has succumbed to opportunism and is defending it with the most hypocritical, vulgar and smug sophistry. Protests have come from the revolutionary Social-Democrats—Mehring, Pannekoek, Karl Liebknecht, and a number of unidentified voices in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland. In Italy, the line-up is clear too: the extreme opportunists, Bissolati and Co. stand for "fatherland", for Guesde-Vaillant-Plekhanov-Hervé. The revolutionary Social-Democrats (the Socialist Party), with *Avanti!* at their head, are combating chauvinism and are exposing the bourgeois and selfish nature of the calls for

war. They have the support of the vast majority of progressive workers.[23] In Russia, the extreme opportunists of the liquidators' camp[24] have already raised their voices, in public lectures and the press, in defence of chauvinism. P. Maslov and Y. Smirnov are defending tsarism on the pretext that the fatherland must be defended. (Germany, you see, is threatening to impose trade agreements on "us" at swordpoint, whereas tsarism, we are expected to believe, has *not* been using the sword, the knout and the gallows to stifle the economic, political and national life of nine-tenths of Russia's population!) They justify socialists participating in reactionary bourgeois governments, and their approval of war credits today and more armaments tomorrow! Plekhanov has slid into nationalism, and is endeavouring to mask his Russian chauvinism with a Francophile attitude, and so has Alexinsky. To judge from the Paris *Golos*,[25] Martov is behaving with more decency than the rest of this crowd, and has come out in opposition to both German and French chauvinism, to *Vorwärts*, Mr. Hyndman and Maslov, but is afraid to come out resolutely against international opportunism as a whole, and against the German Social-Democratic Centrist group, its most "influential" champion. The attempts to present volunteer service in the army as performance of a socialist duty (see the Paris declaration of a group of Russian volunteers consisting of Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries, and also a declaration by Polish Social-Democrats, Leder, and others) have had the backing of Plekhanov alone. These attempts have been condemned by the majority of our Paris Party group.[26] The leading article in this issue* will inform readers of our Party Central Committee's stand. To preclude any misunderstanding, the following facts relating to the history of our Party's views and their formulation must be stated here. After overcoming tremendous difficulties in re-establishing organisational contacts broken by the war, a group of Party members first drew up "theses" and on September 6-8 (New Style) had them circulated among the comrades. Then they were sent to two delegates to the Italo-Swiss Conference in Lugano (September 27), through Swiss Social-Democrats. It was only in

* See pp. 25-34 of this volume.—*Ed.*

mid-October that it became possible to re-establish contacts and formulate the viewpoint of the Party's Central Committee. The leading article in this issue represents the final wording of the "theses".

Such, briefly, is the present state of affairs in the European and the Russian Social-Democratic movement. The collapse of the International is a fact. It has been proved conclusively by the polemic, in the press, between the French and German socialists, and acknowledged, not only by the Left Social-Democrats (Mehring and *Bremer Bürger Zeitung*), but by moderate Swiss papers (*Volksrecht*). Kautsky's attempts to cover up this collapse are a cowardly subterfuge. The collapse of the International is clearly the collapse of opportunism, which is now captive to the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie's stand is clear. It is no less clear that the opportunists are simply echoing bourgeois arguments. In addition to what has been said in the leading article, we need only mention the insulting statements in *Die Neue Zeit*, suggesting that internationalism consists in the workers of one country shooting down the workers of another country, allegedly in defence of the fatherland!

The question of the fatherland—we shall reply to the opportunists—cannot be posed without due consideration of the concrete historical nature of the present war. This is an imperialist war, i.e., it is being waged at a time of the highest development of capitalism, a time of its approaching end. The working class must first "constitute itself within the nation", the *Communist Manifesto* declares, emphasising the *limits and conditions* of our recognition of nationality and fatherland as essential forms of the bourgeois system, and, consequently, of the bourgeois fatherland. The opportunists distort that truth by extending to the period of the end of capitalism that which was true of the period of its rise. With reference to the former period and to the tasks of the proletariat in its struggle to destroy, not feudalism but capitalism, the *Communist Manifesto* gives a clear and precise formula: "The workingmen have no country." One can well understand why the opportunists are so afraid to accept this socialist proposition, afraid even, in most cases, openly to reckon with it. The socialist movement cannot triumph within the old framework of the fatherland. It creates new

and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed. To the present-day bourgeoisie's attempts to divide and disunite them by means of hypocritical appeals for the "defence of the fatherland" the class-conscious workers will reply with ever new and persevering efforts to unite the workers of various nations in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie of all nations.

The bourgeoisie is duping the masses by disguising imperialist rapine with the old ideology of a "national war". This deceit is being shown up by the proletariat, which has brought forward its slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. This was the slogan of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions, which had in mind, not war in general, but precisely the present war and spoke, not of "defence of the fatherland", but of "hastening the downfall of capitalism", of utilising the war-created crisis for this purpose, and of the example provided by the Paris Commune. The latter was an instance of a war of nations being turned into a civil war.

Of course, such a conversion is no easy matter and cannot be accomplished at the whim of one party or another. That conversion, however, is inherent in the objective conditions of capitalism in general, and of the period of the end of capitalism in particular. It is in that direction, and that direction alone, that socialists must conduct their activities. It is not their business to vote for war credits or to encourage chauvinism in their "own" country (and allied countries), but primarily to strive against the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisie, without confining themselves to legal forms of struggle when the crisis has matured and the bourgeoisie has itself taken away the legality it has created. Such is the *line* of action that *leads* to civil war, and will bring about civil war at one moment or another of the European conflagration.

War is no chance happening, no "sin" as is thought by Christian priests (who are no whit behind the opportunists in preaching patriotism, humanity and peace), but an inevitable stage of capitalism, just as legitimate a form of the

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

capitalist way of life as peace is. Present-day war is a people's war. What follows from this truth is not that we must swim with the "popular" current of chauvinism, but that the class contradictions dividing the nations continue to exist in wartime and manifest themselves in conditions of war. Refusal to serve with the forces, anti-war strikes, etc., are sheer nonsense, the miserable and cowardly dream of an unarmed struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, vain yearning for the destruction of capitalism without a desperate civil war or a series of wars. It is the duty of every socialist to conduct propaganda of the class struggle, in the army as well; work directed towards turning a war of the nations into civil war is the only socialist activity in the era of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations. Down with mawkishly sanctimonious and fatuous appeals for "peace at any price"! Let us raise high the banner of civil war! Imperialism sets at hazard the fate of European culture: this war will soon be followed by others, unless there are a series of successful revolutions. The story about this being the "last war" is a hollow and dangerous fabrication, a piece of philistine "mythology" (as *Golos* aptly puts it). The proletarian banner of civil war will rally together, not only hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers but millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois, now deceived by chauvinism, but whom the horrors of war will not only intimidate and depress, but also enlighten, teach, arouse, organise, steel and prepare for the war against the bourgeoisie of their "own" country and "foreign" countries. And this will take place, if not today, then tomorrow, if not during the war, then after it, if not in this war then in the next one.

The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International, purged not only of "turncoats" (as *Golos* wishes), but of opportunism as well.

The Second International did its share of useful preparatory work in preliminarily organising the proletarian masses during the long, "peaceful" period of the most brutal capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. To the Third International falls the task

of organising the proletarian forces for a revolutionary onslaught against the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for the capture of political power, for the triumph of socialism!

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 33
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LETTER TO *VORWÄRTS* AND WIENER *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*

Dear Comrades:

Some days ago, *Vorwärts* published a brief item regarding the paper I read in Zurich, on the subject of war and socialism, and conveying an entirely false impression of that paper. The impression is created that I limited myself to a polemic against tsarism. In actual fact, however, as one who is convinced that it is the duty of the socialists of every country to wage an unrelenting struggle against the chauvinism and patriotism of their own country (and not only of the enemy), I vehemently attacked tsarism, and, in that connection, I spoke of freedom for the Ukraine. However, the sense of my argument may be utterly distorted if no mention is made of what I said of opportunism and the collapse of the Second International, and against the stand taken by the Social-Democrats of Germany and Austria. Nine-tenths of my paper, whose reading lasted two hours, dealt with that criticism.

I would be grateful for publication, in *Vorwärts*, of the omissions I have named (or...).[27]

With Social-Democratic greetings

Written between October 29 and November 8 (November 11 and 21), 1914

First published in 1930 in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

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Translated from the German

KARL MARX[28]

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH WITH AN EXPOSITION OF MARXISM

Written in July-November 1914

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in the *Granat Encyclopaedia*,
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of the pamphlet of 1918

PREFACE

This article on Karl Marx, which now appears in a separate printing, was written in 1913 (as far as I can remember) for the *Granat Encyclopaedia*. A fairly detailed bibliography of literature on Marx, mostly foreign, was appended to the article. This has been omitted in the present edition. The editors of the *Encyclopaedia*, for their part, have, for censorship reasons, deleted the end of the article on Marx, namely, the section dealing with his revolutionary tactics. Unfortunately, I am unable to reproduce that end, because the draft has remained among my papers somewhere in Cracow or in Switzerland. I only remember that in the concluding part of the article I quoted, among other things, the passage from Marx's letter to Engels of April 16, 1856, in which he wrote: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid." That is what our Mensheviks, who have now sunk to utter betrayal of socialism and to desertion to the bourgeoisie, have failed to understand since 1905.

N. Lenin

Moscow, May 14, 1918

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N. Lenin, *Karl Marx*,
Priboi Publishers, Moscow

Published according to
the manuscript

Marx, *Karl*, was born on May 5, 1818 (New Style), in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia). His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from a *Gymnasium* in Trier, Marx entered the university, first at Bonn and later in Berlin, where he read law, majoring in history and philosophy. He concluded his university course in 1841, submitting a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Epicurus. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views. In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating, Marx moved to Bonn, hoping to become a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government, which deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair in 1832, refused to allow him to return to the university in 1836, and in 1841 forbade young Professor Bruno Bauer to lecture at Bonn, made Marx abandon the idea of an academic career. Left Hegelian views were making rapid headway in Germany at the time. Ludwig Feuerbach began to criticise theology, particularly after 1836, and turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained the ascendancy in his philosophy (*The Essence of Christianity*). The year 1843 saw the appearance of his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*. "One must oneself have experienced the liberating effect" of these books, Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach. "We [i.e., the Left Hegelians, including Marx] all became at once Feuerbachians." At that time, some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland, who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper called *Rheinische Zeitung* (the first issue appeared on January 1, 1842). Marx

Карл Маркс родился 5/V н.ст. 1818 г. в городе Трире (прусской провинции Рейнской области). Отец его был адвокатом еврейского происхождения, в 1824 г. принявшим протестантство. Семья была зажиточная, культурная, но не революционная. Окончив гимназию в Трире, М. поступил в университет сначала в Бонн, потом в Берлин, изучал юриспруденцию (по библейскому совету) и философию. Весной 1841 г., представив университетскую диссертацию о философии Эпикура, М. был уже законченным идеалистом. В Берлине он примкнул к кружку левых гегельянцев "(Бруно Бауэр и др.), которые сделались в 1840 г. центром оппозиционных и революционных взглядов.

По окончании университета М. переселился в Бонн, рассчитывая сделаться профессором. Но реакционная политика правительства, отстранившего либеральных профессоров от преподавания, в том числе и Бруно Бауэра, лишила М. этой надежды. И действительно, вместо кафедры М. пришлось вступить на поприще политической журналистики. Либеральная буржуазия Рейнской области (Rheinische Zeitung, 1842 г.), к которой примкнул Бруно Бауэр, пригласила в качестве главных сотрудников, а в октябре 1842 г. М. сделался главным редактором и переселился из Бонна в Кельн. Революционно-демократическое направление газеты редактируемой М., обусловило ее очень скорую гибель. Правительство сначала усилило цензурный надзор, а затем в январе 1843 г. совсем запретило газету. Из статей М. этого периода (Debatten über Pressfreiheit und Publikation der Verhandlungen der Rheinischen Landtagsabteilung) видно, что он уже в это время был не только демократом, но и социалистом.

В марте 1843 г. М. уехал в Крейцнах, где женился на Женни фон Вестфален, своей старой подруге детства. Вскоре он переехал в Париж, где издавал совместно с Руге "Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher". Вышла лишь первая книжка этого журнала. В ней М. выступил с статьями "К еврейскому вопросу" и "К критике гегелевской философии права". Здесь М. уже окончательно порвал с либерализмом и перешел на позиции революционного социализма. В своих статьях М. указал на пролетариат, как на класс, призванный совершить социальную революцию. Здесь же М. впервые выступил с критикой политической экономии, как науки, оправдывающей существующий строй.

First page
of Lenin's manuscript,
"Karl Marx"
July-November 1914

and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. The newspaper's revolutionary-democratic trend became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on January 1, 1843, decided to suppress it. Marx had to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which suspended publication in March 1843. Of the major articles Marx contributed to *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes, in addition to those indicated below (see *Bibliography*), an article on the condition of peasant vine-growers in the Moselle Valley. Marx's journalistic activities convinced him that he was insufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it.

In 1843, Marx married, at Kreuznach, Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend he had become engaged to while still a student. His wife came of a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility, her elder brother being Prussia's Minister of Interior during a most reactionary period—1850-58. In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad, together with Arnold Ruge (1802-1880; Left Hegelian; in prison in 1825-30; a political exile following 1848, and a Bismarckian after 1866-70). Only one issue of this journal, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared; publication was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secretly distributing it in Germany, and to disagreement with Ruge. Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary, who advocated "merciless criticism of everything existing", and in particular the "criticism by weapon",[29] and appealed to the *masses* and to the *proletariat*.

In September 1844 Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris (of particular importance at the time was Proudhon's doctrine, which Marx pulled to pieces in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847); waging a vigorous struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian socialism*, or communism

(Marxism). See Marx's works of this period, 1844-48, in the *Bibliography*. At the insistent request of the Prussian Government, Marx was banished from Paris in 1845, as a dangerous revolutionary. He went to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League; they took a prominent part in the League's Second Congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the celebrated *Communist Manifesto* which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1848, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution, he went to Cologne, Germany, where *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849, with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new theory was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of the world. The victorious counter-revolutionaries first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849), and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). First Marx went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and then went to London, where he lived till his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one, as the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913) clearly reveals. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family; had it not been for Engels's constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital* but would have inevitably been crushed by want. Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, and of non-proletarian socialism in general, forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle and sometimes to repel the most savage and mon-

strous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt*). Marx, who stood aloof from circles of political exiles, developed his materialist theory in a number of historical works (see *Bibliography*), devoting himself mainly to a study of political economy. Marx revolutionised this science (see "The Marxist Doctrine", below) in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Workingmen's Association—the celebrated First International—was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organisation, and author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestos. In uniting the labour movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassallean vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries. Following the downfall of the Paris Commune (1871)—of which Marx gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant, *effective* and revolutionary analysis (*The Civil War in France*, 1871)—and the Bakuninist-caused cleavage in the International, the latter organisation could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), Marx had the General Council of the International transferred to New York. The First International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in *scope*, and *mass* socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.

Marx's health was undermined by his strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations. He continued work on the refashioning of political economy and on the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance). However, ill-health prevented him from completing *Capital*.

His wife died on December 2, 1881, and on March 14, 1883, Marx passed away peacefully in his armchair. He lies buried next to his wife at Highgate Cemetery in London. Of Marx's children some died in childhood in London, when the family were living in destitute circumstances. Three daughters married English and French socialists: Eleanor Aveling, Laura Lafargue and Jenny Longuet. The latter's son is a member of the French Socialist Party.

THE MARXIST DOCTRINE

Marxism is the system of Marx's views and teachings. Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines in general. Acknowledged even by his opponents, the remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views, whose totality constitutes modern materialism and modern scientific socialism, as the theory and programme of the working-class movement in all the civilised countries of the world, make it incumbent on us to present a brief outline of his world-conception in general, prior to giving an exposition of the principal content of Marxism, namely, Marx's economic doctrine.

PHILOSOPHICAL MATERIALISM

Beginning with the years 1844-45, when his views took shape, Marx was a materialist and especially a follower of Ludwig Feuerbach, whose weak points he subsequently saw only in his materialism being insufficiently consistent and comprehensive. To Marx Feuerbach's historic and "epoch-making" significance lay in his having resolutely broken with Hegel's idealism and in his proclamation of materialism, which already "in the eighteenth century, particularly French materialism, was not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and against ... religion and

theology, but also ... against all metaphysics" (in the sense of "drunken speculation" as distinct from "sober philosophy"). (*The Holy Family*, in *Literarischer Nachlass*.) "To Hegel..." wrote Marx, "the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos (the creator, the maker) of the real world.... With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought" (*Capital*, Vol. I, Afterword to the Second Edition). In full conformity with this materialist philosophy of Marx's, and expounding it, Frederick Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring* (read by Marx in the manuscript): "The unity of the world does not consist in its being.... The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved ... by a long and wearisome development of philosophy and natural science...." "Motion is the mode of existence of matter. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, or motion without matter, nor can there be.... But if the ... question is raised: what thought and consciousness really are, and where they come from; it becomes apparent that they are products of the human brain and that man himself is a product of Nature, which has developed in and along with its environment; hence it is self-evident that the products of the human brain, being in the last analysis also products of Nature, do not contradict the rest of Nature's interconnections but are in correspondence with them....

"Hegel was an idealist, that is to say, the thoughts within his mind were to him not the more or less abstract images [*Abbilder*, reflections; Engels sometimes speaks of "imprints"] of real things and processes, but, on the contrary, things and their development were to him only the images, made real, of the 'Idea' existing somewhere or other before the world existed." In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—which expounded his own and Marx's views on Feuerbach's philosophy, and was sent to the printers after he had re-read an old manuscript Marx and himself had written in 1844-45 on Hegel, Feuerbach and the materialist conception of history—Engels wrote: "The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of more recent philosophy, is the relation of thinking and being ... spirit to Nature ... which

is primary, spirit or Nature.... The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to Nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other ... comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded Nature as primary, belonged to the various schools of materialism." Any other use of the concepts of (philosophical) idealism and materialism leads only to confusion. Marx decidedly rejected, not only idealism, which is always linked in one way or another with religion, but also the views—especially widespread in our day—of Hume and Kant, agnosticism, criticism, and positivism in their various forms; he considered that philosophy a "reactionary" concession to idealism, and at best a "shamefaced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while denying it before the world". On this question, see, besides the works by Engels and Marx mentioned above, a letter Marx wrote to Engels on December 12, 1868, in which, referring to an utterance by the naturalist Thomas Huxley which was "more materialistic" than usual, and to his recognition that "as long as we actually observe and think, we cannot possibly get away from materialism", Marx reproached Huxley for leaving a "loop-hole" for agnosticism, for Humism. It is particularly important to note Marx's view on the relation between freedom and necessity: "Freedom is the appreciation of necessity. 'Necessity is blind only insofar as it is not understood'" (Engels in *Anti-Dühring*). This means recognition of the rule of objective laws in Nature and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (in the same manner as the transformation of the uncognised but cognisable "thing-in-itself" into the "thing-for-us", of the "essence of things" into "phenomena"). Marx and Engels considered that the "old" materialism, including that of Feuerbach (and still more the "vulgar" materialism of Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott), contained the following major shortcomings: (1) this materialism was "predominantly mechanical", failing to take account of the latest developments in chemistry and biology (today it would be necessary to add: and in the electrical theory of matter); (2) the old materialism was non-historical and non-dialectical (metaphysical, in the meaning

of anti-dialectical), and did not adhere consistently and comprehensively to the standpoint of development; (3) it regarded the "human essence" in the abstract, not as the "complex of all" (concretely and historically determined) "social relations", and therefore merely "interpreted" the world, whereas it was-a question of "changing" it, i.e., it did not understand the importance of "revolutionary practical activity".

DIALECTICS

As the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, and the richest in content, Hegelian dialectics was considered by Marx and Engels the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy. They thought that any other formulation of the principle of development, of evolution, was one-sided and poor in content, and could only distort and mutilate the actual course of development (which often proceeds by leaps, and via catastrophes and revolutions) in Nature and in society. "Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics [from the destruction of idealism, including Hegelianism] and apply it in the materialist conception of Nature.... Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.!] and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis Nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical.

"The great basic thought," Engels writes, "that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away ... this great fundametal thought has, especially since the time of Hegel, so thoroughly permeated ordinary consciousness that in this generality it is now scarcely ever contradicted. But to acknowledge this fundamental thought in words and to apply it in reality in detail to each domain of investigation are two different things.... For dialectical philosophy nothing is

final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendency from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain." Thus, according to Marx, dialectics is "the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought".

This revolutionary aspect of Hegel's philosophy was adopted and developed by Marx. Dialectical materialism "does not need any philosophy standing above the other sciences". From previous philosophy there remains "the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics". Dialectics, as understood by Marx, and also in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of knowledge, or epistemology, which, too, must regard its subject matter historically, studying and generalising the origin and development of knowledge, the transition from *non*-knowledge to knowledge.

In our times the idea of development, of evolution, has almost completely penetrated social consciousness, only in other ways, and not through Hegelian philosophy. Still, this idea, as formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of Hegel's philosophy, is far more comprehensive and far richer in content than the current idea of evolution is. A development that repeats, as it were, stages that have already been passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher basis ("the negation of negation"), a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line; a development by leaps, catastrophes, and revolutions; "breaks in continuity"; the transformation of quantity into quality; inner impulses towards development, imparted by the contradiction and conflict of the various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given phenomenon, or within a given society; the interdependence and the closest and indissoluble connection between *all* aspects of any phenomenon (history constantly revealing ever new aspects), a connection that provides a uniform, and universal process of motion, one that follows definite laws—these are some of the features of dialectics as a doctrine of development that

is richer than the conventional one. (Cf. Marx's letter to Engels of January 8, 1868, in which he ridicules Stein's "wooden trichotomies", which it would be absurd to confuse with materialist dialectics.)

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

A realisation of the inconsistency, incompleteness, and one-sidedness of the old materialism convinced Marx of the necessity of "bringing the science of society ... into harmony with the materialist foundation, and of reconstructing it thereupon". Since materialism in general explains consciousness as the outcome of being, and not conversely, then materialism as applied to the social life of mankind has to explain *social* consciousness as the outcome of *social* being. "Technology," Marx writes (*Capital*, Vol. I), "discloses man's mode of dealing with Nature, the immediate process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them." In the preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history, in the following words:

"In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces.

"The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a regal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations

within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

"Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so we cannot judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production.... In broad outlines Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society" (cf. Marx's brief formulation in a letter to Engels dated July 7, 1866 "Our theory that the organisation of labour is determined by the means of production").

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or more correctly, the consistent continuation and extension of materialism into the domain of social phenomena, removed the two chief shortcomings in earlier historical theories. In the first place, the latter at best examined only the ideological motives in the historical activities of human beings without investigating the origins of those motives, or ascertaining the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations, or seeing the roots of these relations in the degree of development reached by material production; in the second place, the earlier theories did not embrace the activities of the *masses* of the population whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses, and the changes in those conditions. *At best*, pre-Marxist "sociology" and historiography brought forth an accumulation of raw facts, collected at random, and

a description of individual aspects of the historical process. By examining the *totality* of opposing tendencies, by reducing them to precisely definable conditions of life and production of the various *classes* of society, by discarding subjectivism and arbitrariness in the choice of a particular "dominant" idea or in its interpretation, and by revealing that, without exception, all ideas and all the various tendencies *stem* from the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism indicated the way to an all-embracing and comprehensive study of the process of the rise, development, and decline of socio-economic systems. People make their own history, but what determines the motives of people, of the mass of people, i.e., what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and strivings? What is the sum total of all these clashes in the mass of human societies? What are the objective conditions of production of material life that form the basis of all of man's historical activity? What is the law of development of these conditions? To all these Marx drew attention and indicated the way to a scientific study of history as a single process which, with all its immense variety and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

It is common knowledge that, in any given society, the strivings of some of its members conflict with the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, and that history reveals a struggle between nations and societies, as well as within nations and societies, and, besides, an alternation of periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline. Marxism has provided the guidance, i.e., the theory of the class struggle, for the discovery of the laws governing this seeming maze and chaos. It is only a study of the sum of the strivings of all the members of a given society or group of societies that can lead to a scientific definition of the result of those strivings. Now the conflicting strivings stem from the difference in the position and mode of life of the *classes* into which each society is divided. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* (with the exception of the history of the primitive

community, Engels added subsequently). "Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.... The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." Ever since the Great French Revolution, European history has, in a number of countries, tellingly revealed what actually lies at the bottom of events—the struggle of classes. The Restoration period in France already produced a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, and Thiers) who, in summing up what was taking place, were obliged to admit that the class struggle was the key to all French history. The modern period—that of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, representative institutions, extensive (if not universal) suffrage, a cheap daily press, that is widely circulated among the masses, etc., a period of powerful and ever-expanding unions of workers and unions of employers, etc.—has shown even more strikingly (though sometimes in a very one-sided, "peaceful", and "constitutional" form) the class struggle as the mainspring of events. The following passage from Marx's *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx demanded of social science as regards an objective analysis of the position of each class in modern society, with reference to an analysis of each class's conditions of development: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the

bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat." In a number of historical works (see *Bibliography*), Marx gave brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, of an analysis of the position of *each* individual class, and sometimes of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how "every class struggle is a political struggle". The above-quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and *transitional* stages from one class to another, from the past to the future, was analysed by Marx so as to determine the resultant of historical development.

Marx's economic doctrine is the most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application of his theory.

MARX'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINE

"It is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society", i.e., capitalist, bourgeois society, says Marx in the preface to *Capital*. An investigation into the relations of production in a given, historically defined society, in their inception, development, and decline—such is the content of Marx's economic doctrine. In capitalist society the production of *commodities* is predominant, and Marx's analysis therefore begins with an analysis of commodity.

VALUE

A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing. The utility of a thing makes it a *use-value*. Exchange-value (or simply, value) is first of all the ratio, the proportion, in which a certain number of

use-values of one kind can be exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another kind. Daily experience shows us that millions upon millions of such exchanges are constantly equating with one another every kind of use-value, even the most diverse and incomparable. Now, what is there in common between these various things, things constantly equated with one another in a definite system of social relations? Their common feature is that they are *products of labour*. In exchanging products, people equate the most diverse kinds of labour. The production of commodities is a system of social relations in which individual producers create diverse products (the social division of labour), and in which all these products are equated to one another in the process of exchange. Consequently, what is common to all commodities is not the concrete labour of a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind but *abstract* human labour—human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, as represented in the sum total of the values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power. Thousands upon thousands of millions of acts of exchange prove this. Consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain share of the *socially necessary* labour time. The magnitude of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour, or by the labour time that is socially necessary for the production of a given commodity, of a given use-value. "Whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds of labour expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it." As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relation between two persons; only he should have added: a relation concealed beneath a material wrapping. We can understand what value is only when we consider it from the standpoint of the system of social relations of production in a particular historical type of society, moreover, of relations that manifest themselves in the mass phenomenon of exchange, a phenomenon which repeats itself thousands upon thousands of times. "As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour time." After making a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labour incorporated in commodities, Marx goes on

to analyse the *form of value* and *money*. Here, Marx's main task is to study the *origin* of the money form of value, to study the *historical process* of the development of exchange, beginning with individual and incidental acts of exchange (the "elementary or accidental form of value", in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another), passing on to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and ending with the money form of value, when gold becomes that particular commodity, the universal equivalent. As the highest product of the development of exchange and commodity production, money masks, conceals, the social character of all individual labour, the social link between individual producers united by the market. Marx analyses the various functions of money in very great detail; it is important to note here in particular (as in the opening chapters of *Capital* in general) that what seems to be an abstract and at times purely deductive mode of exposition deals in reality with a gigantic collection of factual material on the history of the development of exchange and commodity production. "If we consider money, its existence implies a definite stage in the exchange of commodities. The particular functions of money which it performs, either as the mere equivalent of commodities, or as means of circulation, or means of payment, as hoard or as universal money, point, according to the extent and relative preponderance of the one function or the other, to very different stages in the process of social production" (*Capital*, Vol. I).

SURPLUS VALUE

At a certain stage in the development of commodity production money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was C—M—C (commodity—money—commodity), i.e., the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another. The general formula of capital, on the contrary, is M—C—M, i.e., purchase for the purpose of selling (at a profit). The increase over the original value of the money that is put into circulation is called

by Marx surplus value. The fact of this "growth" of money in capitalist circulation is common knowledge. Indeed, it is this "growth" which transforms money into *capital*, as a special and historically determined social relation of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of commodity circulation, for the latter knows only the exchange of equivalents; neither can it arise out of price increases, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalise one another, whereas what we have here is not an individual phenomenon but a mass, average and social phenomenon. To obtain surplus value, the owner of money "must ... find ... in the market a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value"—a commodity whose process of consumption is at the same time a process of the creation of value. Such a commodity exists—human labour power. Its consumption is labour, and labour creates value. The owner of money buys labour power at its value, which, like the value of every other commodity, is determined by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (i.e., the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is, to set it to work for a whole day—twelve hours, let us say. Yet, in the course of six hours ("necessary" labour time) the worker creates product sufficient to cover the cost of his own maintenance; in the course of the next six hours ("surplus" labour time), he creates "surplus" product, or surplus value, for which the capitalist does not pay. Therefore, from the standpoint of the process of production, two parts must be distinguished in capital: constant capital, which is expended on means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), whose value, without any change, is transferred (immediately or part by part) to the finished product; secondly, variable capital, which is expended on labour power. The value of this latter capital is not invariable, but grows in the labour process, creating surplus value. Therefore, to express the degree of capital's exploitation of labour power surplus value must be compared, not with the entire capital but only with the variable capital. Thus, in the example just given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this ratio, will be 6 : 6, i.e., 100 per cent.

There were two historical prerequisites for capital to arise: first, the accumulation of certain sums of money in the hands of individuals under conditions of a relatively high level of development of commodity production in general; secondly, the existence of a worker who is "free" in a double sense: free of all constraint or restriction on the sale of his labour power, and freed from the land and all means of production in general, a free and unattached labourer, a "proletarian", who cannot subsist except by selling his labour power.

There are two main ways of increasing surplus value: lengthening the working day ("absolute surplus value"), and reducing the necessary working day ("relative surplus value"). In analysing the former, Marx gives a most impressive picture of the struggle of the working class for a shorter working day and of interference by the state authority to lengthen the working day (from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth) and to reduce it (factory legislation in the nineteenth century). Since the appearance of *Capital*, the history of the working-class movement in all civilised countries of the world has provided a wealth of new facts amplifying this picture.

Analysing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three fundamental historical stages in capitalism's increase of the productivity of labour: (1) simple co-operation; (2) the division of labour, and manufacture; (3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is shown incidentally by the fact that investigations into the handicraft industries of Russia furnish abundant material illustrating the first two of the mentioned stages. The revolutionising effect of large-scale machine industry, as described by Marx in 1867, has revealed itself in a number of "new" countries (Russia, Japan, etc.), in the course of the half-century that has since elapsed.

To continue. New and important in the highest degree is Marx's analysis of the **accumulation of capital**, i.e., the transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, and its use, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalist, but for new production. Marx revealed the error made by all earlier classical political economists (beginning

with Adam Smith), who assumed that the entire surplus value which is transformed into capital goes to form variable capital. In actual fact, it is divided into *means of production* and variable capital. Of tremendous importance to the process of development of capitalism and its transformation into socialism is the more rapid growth of the constant capital share (of the total capital) as compared with the variable capital share.

By speeding up the supplanting of workers by machinery and by creating wealth at one extreme and poverty at the other, the accumulation of capital also gives rise to what is called the "reserve army of labour", to the "relative surplus" of workers, or "capitalist overpopulation", which assumes the most diverse forms and enables capital to expand production extremely rapidly. In conjunction with credit facilities and the accumulation of capital in the form of means of production, this incidentally is the key to an understanding of the *crises* of overproduction which occur periodically in capitalist countries—at first at an average of every ten years, and later at more lengthy and less definite intervals. From the accumulation of capital under capitalism we should distinguish what is known as primitive accumulation: the forcible divorcement of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasants off the land, the stealing of communal lands, the system of colonies and national debts, protective tariffs, and the like. "Primitive accumulation" creates the "free" proletarian at one extreme, and the owner of money, the capitalist, at the other.

The "**historical tendency of capitalist accumulation**" is described by Marx in the following celebrated words: "The expropriation of the immediate producers is accomplished with merciless vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and handicraftsman], that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring-individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others.... That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself,

but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production, by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under, it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated" (*Capital*, Vol. I).

Also new and important in the highest degree is the analysis Marx gives, in Volume Two of *Capital*, of the reproduction of aggregate social capital. Here, too, Marx deals, not with an individual phenomenon but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional part of the economy of society, but with that economy as a whole. Correcting the aforementioned error of the classical economists, Marx divides the whole of social production into two big sections: (I) production of the means of production, and (II) production of articles of consumption, and examines in detail, with numerical examples, the circulation of the aggregate social capital—both when reproduced in its former dimensions and in the case of accumulation.

Volume Three of *Capital* solves the problem of how the **average rate of profit** is formed on the basis of the law of value. The immense stride forward made by economic science in the person of Marx consists in his having conducted an analysis, from the standpoint of mass economic phenomena, of the social economy as a whole, not from the standpoint of individual cases or of the external and superficial aspects of competition, to which vulgar political economy and the modern "theory of marginal utility" frequently restrict themselves. Marx first analyses the origin of surplus value, and then goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground rent. Profit is the ratio between surplus value and the total capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a "high organic composition" (i.e., with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital in excess of the social average) yields a rate of profit below the average; capital with a "low organic composition" yields a rate of profit above the average. Competition among capitalists, and their freedom to transfer their capital from one branch to another, will in both cases reduce the rate of profit to the average. The sum total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum total of the prices of the commodities, but, in individual undertakings and branches of production, as a result of competition, commodities are sold, not at their values but at the *prices of production* (or production prices), which are equal to the capital expended plus the average profit.

In this way, the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalisation of profits is fully explained by Marx on the basis of the law of value, since the sum total of values of all commodities coincides with the sum total of prices. However, the equating of (social) value to (individual) prices does not take place simply and directly, but in a very complex way. It is quite natural that in a society of separate producers of commodities, who are united only by the market, a conformity to law can be only an average, social, mass manifestation, with individual deviations in either direction mutually compensating one another.

A rise in the productivity of labour implies a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable

capital. Inasmuch as surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital, not to its variable part alone) tends to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this tendency and of a number of circumstances that conceal or counteract it. Without pausing to deal with the extremely interesting sections of Volume Three of *Capital* devoted to usurer's capital, commercial capital and money capital, we must pass on to the most important section—the theory of **ground rent**. Since the area of land is limited and, in capitalist countries, the land is all held by individual private owners, the price of production of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production, not on soil of average quality but on the worst soil; not under average conditions but under the worst conditions of delivery of produce to the market. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or in better conditions) constitutes *differential* rent. Analysing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of the difference in fertility of different plots of land, and out of the difference in the amount of capital invested in land, Marx fully reveals (see also *Theories of Surplus Value*, in which the criticism of Rodbertus is most noteworthy) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is derived only when there is a successive transition from better land to worse. On the contrary, there may be inverse transitions, land may pass from one category into others (owing to advances in agricultural techniques, the growth of towns, and so on), and the notorious "law of diminishing returns", which charges Nature with the defects, limitations and contradictions of capitalism, is profoundly erroneous. Further, the equalisation of profit in all branches of industry and the national economy in general presupposes complete freedom of competition and the free flow of capital from one branch to another. However, the private ownership of land creates monopoly, which hinders that free flow. Because of that monopoly, the products of agriculture, where a lower organic composition of capital obtains, and consequently an individually higher rate of profit, do not enter into the quite free process of the equalisation of the rate of profit. As a monopolist, the landowner can keep the price above the average, and this monopoly

price gives rise to *absolute* rent. Differential rent cannot be done away with under capitalism, but absolute rent *can*—for instance, by the nationalisation of the land, by making it state property. That would undermine the monopoly of private landowners, and would mean the more consistent and full operation of freedom of competition in agriculture. That is why, as Marx points out, bourgeois radicals have again and again in the course of history advanced this progressive bourgeois demand for nationalisation of the land, a demand which, however, frightens most of the bourgeoisie, because it would too closely affect another monopoly, one that is particularly important and "sensitive" today—the monopoly of the means of production in general. (A remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent is given by Marx himself in a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862. See *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, pp. 77-81; also the letter of August 9, 1862, ibid., pp. 86-87.)

With reference to the history of ground rent it is also important to note Marx's analysis showing how labour rent (the peasant creates surplus product by working on the lord's land) is transformed into rent paid in produce or in kind (the peasant creates surplus product on his own land and hands it over to the landlord because of "non-economic constraint"), then into money-rent (rent in kind, which is converted into money—the *obrok** of old Russia—as a result of the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the peasant is replaced by the agricultural *entrepreneur*, who cultivates the soil with the help of hired labour. In connection with this analysis of the "genesis of capitalistic ground rent", note should be taken of a number of profound ideas (of particular importance to backward countries like Russia) expressed by Marx regarding the evolution of capitalism in agriculture. "The transformation of rent in kind into money-rent is furthermore not only inevitably accompanied, but even anticipated, by the formation of a class of propertyless day-labourers, who hire themselves out for money. During their genesis, when this new class appears but sporadically, the custom

* Quit-rent.—*Ed*.

necessarily develops among the more prosperous peasants, subject to rent payments, of exploiting agricultural wage-labourers for their own account, much as in feudal times, when the more well-to-do peasant serfs themselves also held serfs. In this way, they gradually acquire the possibility of accumulating a certain amount of wealth and themselves becoming transformed into future capitalists. The old self-employed possessors of land themselves thus give rise to a nursery school for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned by the general development of capitalist production beyond the bounds of the countryside" (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 332). "The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital, the labourers, their means of subsistence, and material for labour; it also created the home market" (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 778). In their turn, the impoverishment and ruin of the rural population play a part in the creation, for capital, of a reserve army of labour. In every capitalist country "part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing [i.e., non-agricultural] proletariat.... This source of relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing.... The agricultural labourer is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism" (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 668). The peasant's private ownership of the land he tills is the foundation of small-scale production and the condition for its prospering and achieving the classical form. But such small-scale production is compatible only with a narrow and primitive framework of production and society. Under capitalism the "exploitation of the peasants differs only in form from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: capital. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through mortgages and usury; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the state taxes" (*The Class Struggles in France*). "The small holding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages" (*The Eighteenth Brumaire*). As a rule the peasant cedes to capitalist society, i.e., to the

capitalist class, even a part of the wages, sinking "to the level of the Irish tenant farmer—all under the pretence of being a private proprietor" (*The Class Struggles in France*). What is "one of the reasons why grain prices are lower in countries with predominant small-peasant land proprietorship than in countries with a capitalist mode of production"? (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 340.) It is that the peasant hands over gratis to society (i.e., the capitalist class) a part of his surplus product. "This lower price [of grain and other agricultural produce] is consequently a result of the producers' poverty and by no means of their labour productivity" (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 340). Under capitalism the small-holding system, which is the normal form of small-scale production, degenerates, collapses, and perishes. "Proprietorship of land parcels, by its very nature, excludes the development of social productive forces of labour, social forms of labour, social concentration of capital, large-scale cattle raising, and the progressive application of science. Usury and a taxation system must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite fragmentation of means of production, and isolation of the producers themselves." (Co-operative societies, i.e., associations of small peasants, while playing an extremely progressive bourgeois role, only weaken this tendency, without eliminating it; nor must it be forgotten that these co-operative societies do much for the well-to-do peasants, and very little—next to nothing—for the mass of poor peasants; then the associations themselves become exploiters of hired labour.) "Monstrous waste of human energy. Progressive deterioration of conditions of production and increased prices of means of production—an inevitable law of proprietorship of parcels." In agriculture, as in industry, capitalism transforms the process of production only at the price of the "martyrdom of the producer". "The dispersion of the rural labourers over larger areas breaks their power of resistance, while concentration increases that of the town operatives. In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productiveness and quantity of the labour set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labour power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture

is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil.... Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the labourer" (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chapter 13).

SOCIALISM

From the foregoing it is evident that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contemporary society. The socialisation of labour, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly, during the half-century since the death of Marx, in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism. The intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself. The proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, which finds expression in a variety of forms ever richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle directed towards the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialisation of production cannot but lead to the means of production becoming the property of society, to the "expropriation of the expropriators". A tremendous rise in labour productivity, a shorter working day, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins, of small-scale, primitive and disunited production by collective and improved labour—such are the direct consequences of this transformation. Capitalism breaks for all time the ties between agriculture and industry, but at the same time, through its highest development, it prepares new elements of those ties, a union between industry and agriculture based on the conscious application of science and the concentration of collective labour, and on a redistribution of the human population (thus putting an end both to

rural backwardness, isolation and barbarism, and to the unnatural concentration of vast masses of people in big cities). A new form of family, new conditions in the status of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation are prepared by the highest forms of present-day capitalism: the labour of women and children and the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism inevitably assume the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms in modern society. Nevertheless, "modern industry, by assigning as it does, an important part in the socially organised process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the labourer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the labourer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery" (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chap. 13). The factory system contains "the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of social production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings" (*ibid.*). Marx's socialism places the problems of nationality and of the state on the same historical footing, not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement. Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class could not grow strong, become mature and take shape without "constituting itself within the nation", without being "national"

("though not in the bourgeois sense of the word"). The development of capitalism, however, breaks down national barriers more and more, does away with national seclusion, and substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonisms. It is, therefore, perfectly true of the developed capitalist countries that "the workingmen have no country" and that "united action" by the workers, of the civilised countries at least, "is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat" (*Communist Manifesto*). The state, which is organised coercion, inevitably came into being at a definite stage in the development of society, when the latter had split into irreconcilable classes, and could not exist without an "authority" ostensibly standing above society, and to a certain degree separate from society. Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes "...the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was above all the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital" (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a work in which the writer expounds his own views and Marx's). Even the democratic republic, the freest and most progressive form of the bourgeois state, does not eliminate this fact in any way, but merely modifies its form (the links between the government and the stock exchange, the corruption—direct and indirect—of officialdom and the press, etc.). By leading to the abolition of classes, socialism will thereby lead to the abolition of the state as well. "The first act," Engels writes in *Anti-Dühring*, "by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. The state interference in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the direction of the processes

of production. The state is not 'abolished', it withers away." "The society that will organise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe" (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*).

Finally, as regards the attitude of Marx's socialism towards the small peasantry, which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must refer to a declaration made by Engels, which expresses Marx's views: "...when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today" (Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*,* p. 17, published by Alexeyeva; there are errors in the Russian translation. Original in *Die Neue Zeit*).

TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

After examining, as early as 1844-45, one of the main shortcomings in the earlier materialism, namely, its inability to understand the conditions or appreciate the importance of practical revolutionary activity, Marx, along with his theoretical work, devoted unremitting attention, throughout his lifetime, to the tactical problems of the proletariat's class struggle. An immense amount of material bearing on this is contained in *all* the works of Marx, particularly in the four volumes of his correspondence with Engels, published

* See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 433.

in 1913. This material is still far from having been brought together, collected, examined and studied. We shall therefore have to confine ourselves here to the most general and brief remarks, emphasising that Marx justly considered that, without *this* aspect, materialism is incomplete, one-sided, and lifeless. The fundamental task of proletarian tactics was defined by Marx in strict conformity with all the postulates of his materialist-dialectical *Weltanschauung*. Only an objective consideration of the sum total of the relations between absolutely all the classes in a given society, and consequently a consideration of the objective stage of development reached by that society and of the relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for the correct tactics of an advanced class. At the same time, all classes and all countries are regarded, not statically, but dynamically, i.e., not in a state of immobility, but in motion (whose laws are determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). Motion, in its turn, is regarded from the standpoint, not only of the past, but also of the future, and that not in the vulgar sense it is understood in by the "evolutionists", who see only slow changes, but dialectically: "...in developments of such magnitude twenty years are no more than a day," Marx wrote to Engels, "though later on there may come days in which twenty years are embodied" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, p. 127).[30] At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of this objectively inevitable dialectics of human history, on the one hand, utilising the periods of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called "peaceful" development in order to develop the class-consciousness, strength and militancy of the advanced class, and, on the other hand, directing all the work of this utilisation towards the "ultimate aim" of that class's advance, towards creating in it the ability to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days, in which twenty years are embodied". Two of Marx's arguments are of special importance in this connection: one of these is contained in *The Poverty of Philosophy* and concerns the economic struggle and economic organisations of the proletariat; the other is contained in the *Communist Manifesto* and concerns the political tasks of the proletariat. The former runs as follows: "Large-scale industry concentrates in one place

a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in a common thought of resistance—combination.... Combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups ... and in face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them [i.e., the workers] than that of wages.... In this struggle—a veritable civil war—all the elements necessary for a coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character." Here we have the programme and tactics of the economic struggle and of the trade union movement for several decades to come, for all the lengthy period in which the proletariat will prepare its forces for the "coming battle". All this should be compared with numerous references by Marx and Engels to the example of the British labour movement, showing how industrial "prosperity" leads to attempts "to buy the proletariat" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 1, p. 136),[31] to divert them from the struggle; how this prosperity in general "demoralises the workers" (Vol. 2, p. 218); how the British proletariat becomes "bourgeoisified"—"this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie" (Vol. 2, p. 290)[32]; how its "revolutionary energy" oozes away (Vol. 3, p. 124); how it will be necessary to wait a more or less lengthy space of time before "the British workers will free themselves from their apparent bourgeois infection" (Vol. 3, p. 127); how the British labour movement "lacks the mettle of the Chartists" (1866; Vol. 3, p. 305)[33]; how the British workers' leaders are becoming a type midway between "a radical bourgeois and a worker" (in reference to Holyoak, Vol. 4, p. 209); how, owing to Britain's monopoly, and as long as that monopoly lasts, "the British workingman will not budge" (Vol. 4, p. 433).[34] The tactics of the economic struggle, in connection with the general course (*and outcome*) of the working-class movement, are considered here from a remarkably broad, comprehensive, dialectical, and genuinely revolutionary standpoint.

The *Communist Manifesto* advanced a fundamental Marxist principle on the tactics of the political struggle: "The

Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class, but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." That was why, in 1848, Marx supported the party of the "agrarian revolution" in Poland, "that party which brought about the Cracow insurrection in 1846". In Germany, Marx, in 1848 and 1849, supported the extreme revolutionary democrats, and subsequently never retracted what he had then said about tactics. He regarded the German bourgeoisie as an element which was "inclined from the very beginning to betray the people" (only an alliance with the peasantry could have enabled the bourgeoisie to completely achieve its aims) "and compromise with the crowned representatives of the old society". Here is Marx's summing-up of the German bourgeoisie's class position in the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—an analysis which, incidentally, is a sample of a materialism that examines society in motion, and, moreover, not only from the aspect of a motion that is *backward*: "Without faith in itself, without faith in the people, grumbling at those above, trembling before those below ... intimidated by the world storm ... no energy in any respect, plagiarism in every respect ... without initiative ... an execrable old man who saw himself doomed to guide and deflect the first youthful impulses of a robust people in his own senile interests...." (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848; see *Literarischer Nachlass*, Vol. 3, p. 212.)[35] About twenty years later, Marx declared, in a letter to Engels (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, p. 224), that the Revolution of 1848 had failed because the bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of a fight for freedom. When the revolutionary period of 1848-49 ended, Marx opposed any attempt to play at revolution (his struggle against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on the ability to work in the new phase, which in a quasi-"peaceful" way was preparing new revolutions. The spirit in which Marx wanted this work to be conducted is to be seen in his appraisal of the situation in Germany in 1856, the darkest period of reaction: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War" (*Briefwechsel*,

Vol. 2, p. 108).[36] While the democratic (bourgeois) revolution in Germany was uncompleted, Marx focussed every attention, in the tactics of the socialist proletariat, on developing the democratic energy of the peasantry. He held that Lassalle's attitude was "objectively ... a betrayal of the whole workers' movement to Prussia" (Vol. 3, p. 210), incidentally because Lassalle was tolerant of the Junkers and Prussian nationalism. "In a predominantly agricultural country,"? Engels wrote in 1865, in exchanging views with Marx on their forthcoming joint declaration in the press, "...it is dastardly to make an exclusive attack on the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat but never to devote a word to the patriarchal exploitation of the rural proletariat under the lash of the great feudal aristocracy" (Vol. 3, p. 217).[37] From 1864 to 1870, when the period of the consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany was coming to an end, a period in which the Prussian and Austrian exploiting classes were struggling to complete that revolution in one way or another *from above*, Marx not only rebuked Lassalle, who was coquetting with Bismarck, but also corrected Liebknecht, who had lapsed into "Austrophilism" and a defence of particularism; Marx demanded revolutionary tactics which would combat with equal ruthlessness both Bismarck and the Austrophiles, tactics which would not be adapted to the "victor"—the Prussian Junker—but would immediately renew the revolutionary struggle against him *also in the conditions* created by the Prussian military victories (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, pp. 134, 136, 147, 179, 204, 210, 215, 418, 437, 440-41). In the celebrated Address of the International of September 9, 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising, but when an uprising nevertheless took place (1871), Marx enthusiastically hailed the revolutionary initiative of the masses, who were "storming heaven" (Marx's letter to Kugelmann). From the standpoint of Marx's dialectical materialism, the defeat of revolutionary action in that situation, as in many others, was a lesser evil, in the general course *and outcome* of the proletarian struggle, than the abandonment of a position already occupied, than surrender without battle. Such a surrender would have demoralised the proletariat and weakened its militancy. While fully

appreciating the use of legal means of struggle during periods of political stagnation and the domination of bourgeois legality, Marx, in 1877 and 1878, following the passage of the Anti-Socialist Law,[38] sharply condemned Most's "revolutionary phrases"; no less sharply, if not more so, did he attack the opportunism that had for a time come over the official Social-Democratic Party, which did not at once display resoluteness, firmness, revolutionary spirit and a readiness to resort to an illegal struggle in response to the Anti-Socialist Law (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 4, pp. 397, 404, 418, 422, 424; cf. also letters to Sorge).

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No complete collection of Marx's works and letters has yet been published. More works by Marx have been translated into Russian than into any other language. The following list of Marx's writings is arranged in chronological order. In 1841 Marx wrote his thesis on Epicurus's philosophy. (It was included in *Literarischer Nachlass*, of which more will be said later.) In this thesis, Marx still fully adhered to the Hegelian idealist point of view. In 1842 Marx wrote articles for *Rheinische Zeitung* (Cologne), among them a criticism of the free-press debate in the Sixth Rhenish Diet, an article on the laws concerning the stealing of timber, another in defence of divorcing politics from theology, etc. (partly included in *Literarischer Nachlass*). Here we see signs of Marx's transition from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism. In 1844, under the editorship of Marx and Arnold Ruge, there appeared in Paris *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in which this transition was finally made. Among Marx's articles published in that magazine, the most noteworthy are *A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right* (besides *Literarischer Nachlass*, also published as a separate pamphlet) and *On the Jewish Question* (likewise in *Literarischer Nachlass*; issued as a pamphlet brought out by the *Znaniye* Publishers in their Cheap Library, No. 210). In 1845, Marx and Engels jointly published, in Frankfort on Main, a pamphlet entitled *The Holy Family. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* (besides *Literarischer Nachlass*, there are two Russian editions as pamphlets: one published by *Novy Golos* in St. Petersburg, 1906, the other by Ves*tnik Znaniya*, St. Petersburg, 1907). In the spring of 1845, Marx

wrote his theses on Feuerbach (published as an appendix to Frederick Engels's pamphlet entitled *Ludwig Feuerbach* (there is a Russian translation). In 1845-47 Marx wrote a number of articles (most of which have not been collected, republished, or translated into Russian) in the papers *Vorwärts*, *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (1847); *Westphälisches Dampfboot* (Bielefeld, 1845-48); *Der Gesellschaftsspiegel* (Elberfeld, 1846). In 1847 Marx wrote his fundamental work against Proudhon, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, a reply to Proudhon's work *The Philosophy of Poverty*. The book was published in Brussels and Paris (there have been three publications in Russian by *Novy Mir*, one by G. Lvovich, one by Alexeyeva, and one by *Prosveshcheniye*, all in 1905-06). In 1848 the *Speech on Free Trade* was published in Brussels (Russian translation available), followed by the publication in London, in collaboration with Frederick Engels, of the celebrated *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which has been translated into probably all the languages of Europe and into a number of other languages (there are about eight Russian publications referring to 1905 and 1906; by *Molot*, *Kolokol*, Alexeyeva, etc., most of which were confiscated. These appeared under various titles: *The Communist Manifesto*, *On Communism*, *Social Classes and Communism*, *Capitalism and Communism*, *The Philosophy of History*. A complete and most accurate translation of this, as well as of other works by Marx, will be found in the editions of the Emancipation of Labour group, issued abroad[39]). From June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published in Cologne with Marx as the actual editor-in-chief. His numerous articles for that paper, which to this very day remains the finest and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat, have not been collected and republished in full. The most important of them were included in *Literarischer Nachlass*. *Wage-Labour and Capital*, published in that paper, has been repeatedly issued as a pamphlet (four Russian editions, by Kozman, *Molot*; Myagkov, and Lvovich, 1905 and 1906); also from the same paper *The Liberals at the Helm* (published by *Znaniye* Publishers in their Cheap Library, No. 272, St. Petersburg, 1906). In 1849 Marx published, in Cologne, *Two Political Trials* (two speeches in his own defence by Marx, who was acquitted by a jury when facing trial

on the charge of having violated the press law and called for armed resistance to the government. Russian translations are available in five publications brought out in 1905 and 1906 by Alexeyeva, *Molot*, Myagkov, *Znaniye*, and *Novy Mir*). In 1850 Marx published, in Hamburg, six issues of the magazine *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The most important articles published therein were later included in *Literarischer Nachlass*. Especially noteworthy are Marx's articles, republished by Engels in 1895 in a pamphlet entitled *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* (Russian translation, published by M. Malykh, Library, No. 59-60; also in the *Collection of Historical Works*, translated by Bazarov and Stepanov and published by Skirmunt, St. Petersburg, 1906; also *Thoughts and Views of the 20th Century*, St. Petersburg, 1912). In 1852 a pamphlet by Marx was published in New York under the title of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Russian translation in publications just mentioned). In the same year a pamphlet was published in London under the title of *Enthüllungen über den Communistenprozess in Köln* (Russian translation entitled *The Cologne Trial of the Communards*, Popular Science Library, No. 43, St. Petersburg, 1906, Oct. 28). From August 1851 until 1862,* Marx was a regular contributor to the *New York Tribune*, where many of his articles appeared unsigned, as editorials. Most outstanding among these is a series of articles, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, which were republished after the death of Marx and Engels in a German translation (a Russian translation is available in collections translated by Bazarov and Stepanov, and then, in pamphlet form, in five editions brought out in 1905-06 by Alexeyeva, *Obshchestvennaya Polza*, *Novy Mir*, *Vseobshchaya Biblioteka* and *Molot*). Some of Marx's articles in the *Tribune* were later published in London as separate pamphlets, as, for instance, the one on Palmerston, published in 1856; *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century* (regarding the constant venal dependence on Russia of the British

* Engels, in his article on Marx in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Band VI, S. 603, and Bernstein, in his article on Marx in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, erroneously give the dates as 1853-60. See *Briefwechsel* of Marx and Engels published in 1913.

Liberal Ministers), and others. After Marx's death, his daughter, Eleanor Aveling, published a number of his *Tribune* articles on the Oriental question, under the title of *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897. Part has been translated into Russian: *War and Revolution*, Issue I, Marx and Engels: *Unpublished Articles* (*1852*, *1853*, *1854*), Kharkov, 1919 (*Our Thought* Library). From the end of 1854, and during 1855, Marx contributed to the *Neue Oder-Zeitung* and in 1861-62 to the Viennese paper *Presse*. These articles have not been collected, and only a few of them were reprinted in *Die Neue Zeit*, as were also Marx's numerous letters. The same is true about Marx's articles from *Das Volk* (London, 1859) on the diplomatic history of the Italian War of 1859. In 1859 Marx's *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* appeared in Berlin (Russian translations: Moscow, 1896, edited by Manuilov; St. Petersburg, 1907, translated by Rumyantsev). In 1860 a pamphlet by Marx, entitled *Herr Vogt*, appeared in London.

In 1864 the *Address of the International Workingmen's Association*, which was written by Marx, came out in London (Russian translation available). Marx was the author of numerous manifestos, appeals and resolutions of the International's General Council. This material is far from having been analysed or even collected. The first approach to this work is Gustav Jaeckh's book, *Die Internationale* (in the Russian translation: St. Petersburg, 1906, *Znaniye* Publishers), which includes several of Marx's letters and draft resolutions. Among the documents of the International that Marx wrote was the Address of the General Council on the Paris Commune. The document appeared in 1871 in London, as a pamphlet entitled *The Civil War in France* (Russian translations: one edited by Lenin, *Molot* Publishers, and others). Between 1862 and 1874 Marx corresponded with Kugelmann, a member of the International (two Russian translations: one by A. Goikhbarg, the other edited by Lenin). In 1867 Marx's main work, *Capital*: *A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. 1, appeared in Hamburg. Volumes 2 and 3 were published by Engels in 1885 and 1894, after the death of Marx. The Russian translations: Vol. 1, in five editions (two in a translation by Danielson, 1872 and 1898; two in a translation by E. A. Gurvich and L. M. Zak, edited

by Struve; 1st ed.—1899, 2nd ed.—1905; another edited by Bazarov and Stepanov). Volumes 2 and 3 appeared in a translation by Danielson (less satisfactory) and in another under the editorship of Bazarov and Stepanov (the better). In 1876 Marx took part in the writing of Engels's *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (*Anti-Dühring*); he went over the manuscript of the whole work and wrote an entire chapter dealing with the history of political economy. The following works by Marx were published posthumously: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (St. Petersburg, 1906, and in German in *Die Neue Zeit*, 1890-91, No. 18); *Value, Price and Profit* (a lecture delivered on June 26, 1865; *Die Neue Zeit*, XVI, 1897-98- Russian translations, brought out by *Molot*, 1906, and Lvovich, 1905); *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, three volumes, Stuttgart, 1902 (Russian translation, edited by Axelrod and others, 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1908: Vol. 1 also edited by E. Gurvich, Moscow, 1907. Lassalle's letters to Marx, published separately, are included in *Literarischer Nachlass*); *Letters from K. Marx and F. Engels and Others to F. A. Sorge and Others* (two editions in Russian; one edited by Axelrod, another published by Dauge, with a preface by Lenin); *Theorien über den Mehrwert*, three volumes in four parts, Stuttgart, 1905-10, which is the manuscript of the fourth volume of *Capital* and published by Kautsky (only the first volume translated into Russian; in three editions; St. Petersburg, 1906, edited by Plekhanov; Kiev, 1906, edited by Zheleznov, and Kiev, 1907, edited by Tuchapsky). In 1913 four big volumes of *Marx-Engels Correspondence* came out in Stuttgart, with 1,386 letters written between September 1844 and January 10, 1883, and providing a mass of highly valuable material for a study of Marx's biography and views. In 1917, two volumes of Marx's and Engels's works appeared, containing their articles for 1852-62 (in German). This list of Marx's works must conclude with a note that many of Marx's shorter articles and letters, published, for the most part, in *Die Neue Zeit*, *Vorwärts*, and other German-language Social-Democratic periodicals, have not been enumerated. The list of Russian translations of Marx is no doubt incomplete especially with reference to pamphlets that appeared in 1905-06.

The literature on Marx and Marxism is very extensive. We shall mention only what is most outstanding, and divide the authors into three main groups: Marxists who, in important matters, adhere to Marx's point of view; bourgeois writers, in essence hostile to Marxism; and revisionists, who, while claiming to accept certain fundamentals of Marxism, in fact replace it with bourgeois conceptions. The Narodnik attitude towards Marx should be considered a peculiarly Russian variety of revisionism. In his *Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie des Marxismus* (*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XX, 2. Heft,* 1905, pp. 413-30), Werner Sombart gives some three hundred titles in a list that is far from complete. More can be found in the indexes to *Die Neue Zeit*, 1883-1907, et seq., also in Josef Stammhammer's *Bibliographie des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, Bd. I-III,** Jena (1893-1909). For a detailed bibliography on Marxism see also *Bibliographie der Sozialwissenschaften*, Berlin. Jahrgang 1, 1905, u. ff.*** See also N. A. Rubakin, *Among Books* (Vol. 2, 2nd ed.). We mention here only the most important bibliographies. On the subject of Marx's biography, attention must be called first of all to Frederick Engels's articles in *Volkskalender*,**** published by Bracke in Brunswick in 1878 and in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Bd. 6, S. 600-03*****; W. Liebknecht, *Karl Marx zum Gedächtniss*,****** Nuremberg, 1896; Lafargue, *Karl Marx. Persönliche Erinnerungen*********; W. Liebknecht, *Karl Marx*, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1906; P. Lafargue, *My Recollections of Karl Marx*, Odessa, 1905 (see original in *Die Neue Zeit*, IX, 1); *Karl Marx*: *In Memoriam*, St. Petersburg, 1908, 410 pages, a collection of articles by Y. Nevzorov, N. Rozhkov. V. Bazarov, Y. Steklov, A. Finn-Yenotayevsky, P. Rumyantsev, K. Renner, H. Roland-Holst,

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** *Bibliography of Socialism and Communism*, Vols. 1-3.—*Ed.*

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******* Paul Lafargue, *Personal Recollections of Karl Marx.—Ed.*

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On the question of Marxist philosophy and historical materialism the best exposition is given by G. V. Plekhanov, *For Twenty Years*, St. Petersburg, 1909, 3rd ed.; *From Defence to Attack*, St. Petersburg, 1910; *Fundamental Problems of Marxism*, St. Petersburg, 1908; *A Critique of Our Critics*, St. Petersburg, 1906; *The Development of the Monist View of History*, St. Petersburg, 1908, and other works. Antonio Labriola, *On the Materialist View of History* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1898; also his *Historical Materialism and Philosophy*, St. Petersburg, 1906, Franz Mehring, *On Historical Materialism* [in Russian] (two editions, by *Prosveshcheniye* and *Molot*), St. Petersburg, 1906, and *The Lessing Legend* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1908 (*Znaniye*); see also Charles Andler (non-Marxist), *The Communist Manifesto. History, Introduction, Comments* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1906. See also *Historical Materialism*, St. Petersburg, 1908, a collection of articles by Engels, Kautsky, Lafargue, and many others; L. Axelrod, *Philosophical Sketches. A Reply to Philosophic Critics of Historical Materialism*, St. Petersburg, 1906. A special defence of Dietzgen's unsuccessful deviations from Marxism is contained in E. Untermann's *Die logischen Mängel des*

* Karl Kautsky, *The Historical Contribution of Karl Marx. On the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Master's Death.—Ed.*

** Clara Zetkin, *Karl Marx and His Life Work.—Ed.*

engeren Marxismus,* Munich, 1910, 753 pages (an extensive but none too serious work). Hugo Riekes's *Die philosophische Wurzel des Marxismus*, in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, 62. Jahrgang, 1906, 3. Heft, S. 407-32,** is an interesting piece of work by an opponent of the Marxist views, showing their philosophical integrity from the viewpoint of materialism. Benno Erdmann's *Die philosophischen Voraussetzungen der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung*, in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*), 1907, 3. Heft, S. 1-56,*** is a very useful formulation of some of the basic principles of Marx's philosophical materialism, and a summary of arguments against it from the current viewpoint of Kantianism, and agnosticism in general. Rudolph Stammler (a Kantian), *Wirtschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung*,**** 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1906; Woltmann (also a Kantian), *Historical Materialism* (in a Russian translation. 1901); Vorländer (also a Kantian), *Kant and Marx*, [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1909. See also the polemic between A. Bogdanov, V. Bazarov and others, on the one hand, and V. Ilyin,***** on the other (the views of the former being contained in *An Outline of the Philosophy of Marxism*, St. Petersburg, 1908; A. Bogdanov, *The Downfall of a Great Fetishism*, Moscow, 1909, and elsewhere, and the views of the latter, in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Moscow, 1909). On the question of historical materialism and ethics: Karl Kautsky, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*, St. Petersburg, 1906, and numerous other works by Kautsky; Louis Boudin, *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism*; translated from the English under the editorship of V. Zasulich, St. Petersburg, 1908; Hermann

* E. Untermann, *The Logical Defects of Narrow Marxism.—Ed.*

** Hugo Riekes, "The Philosophical Roots of Marxism", in the *Journal of All Political Sciences*, 62nd year of publication, 1906, Book 3, pp. 407-32.—*Ed.*

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**** Rudolph Stammler, *Economy and Law According to the Materialist Conception of History.—Ed.*

***** V. Ilyin—one of the literary pseudonyms of V. I. Lenin.—*Ed.*

Gorter, *Der historische Materialismus*,* 1909. Of works by opponents to Marxism, we would name Tugan-Baranovsky, *The Theoretical Fundamentals of Marxism*, St. Petersburg, 1907; S. Prokopovich, *A Critique of Marx*, St. Petersburg, 1901; Hammacher, *Das philosophisch-ökonomische System des Marxismus*,** Leipzig, 1910 (730 pages, collection of quotations); Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century* [in Russian], St. Petersburg; Max Adler (a Kantian), *Kausalität und Teleologie*, Vienna, 1909, in *Marx-Studien*, also *Marx als Denker**** by the same author.

The book of an Hegelian idealist, Giovanni Gentile, *La filosofia di Marx*,***** Pisa, 1899, is noteworthy. The author deals with some important aspects of Marx's materialist dialectics which usually escape the attention of the Kantians, Positivists, etc. Likewise: Lévy, *Feuerbach*, a work about one of the main philosophical predecessors of Marx. A useful collection of quotations from a number of Marx's works is contained in Chernyshev's *Notebook of a Marxist*, St. Petersburg (*Dyelo*), 1908. On Marx's economic doctrine, the following books are outstanding: Karl Kautsky, *The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx* (numerous editions in Russian), *The Agrarian Question*, *The Erfurt Programme*, and numerous pamphlets. Cf. also: Eduard Bernstein, *The Economic Doctrine of Marx*. *The Third Volume of Capital* (Russian translation, 1905); Gabriel Deville, *Capital* (an exposition of the first volume of *Capital*, Russian translation, 1907). A representative of so-called revisionism among Marxists, as regards the agrarian question, is Eduard David, *Socialism and Agriculture* (Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1902). For a critique of revisionism see V. Ilyin, *The Agrarian Question*, Part I, St. Petersburg, 1908. See also the following books by V. Ilyin: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, second edition, St. Petersburg, 1908; *Economic Essays and Articles*, St. Petersburg, 1899; *New Data on the Laws of Development of Capitalism in Agriculture*,

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* Hermann Gorter, *Historical Materialism.—Ed.*

** Hammacher, *The Philosophic-Economic System of Marxism.—Ed.*

*** Max Adler, *Causality and Teleology and Marx as a Thinker.—Ed.*

**** Giovanni Gentile, *The Philosophy of Marx.—Ed.*

Book 1, 1917. An application of Marx's views, with some deviations, to the latest data concerning agrarian relations in France can be found in Compère-Morel, *La question agraire et le socialisme en France*,* Paris, 1912. 455 pages. For the further development of Marx's economic views as applied to recent phenomena in economic life see Hilferding's *Finance Capital* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1911 (outstanding inaccuracies in the author's views on the theory of value have been corrected by Kautsky in "Gold, Papier und Ware",—"Gold, Paper Money and Commodities"—in *Die Neue Zeit*, XXX, 1, 1912, pp. 837 and 886); and V. Ilyin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1917. Pyotr Maslov in his *Agrarian Question* (two volumes) and *The Theory of Economic Development*, St. Petersburg, 1910, deviates from Marxism on important points. A criticism of some of Maslov's deviations may be found in Kautsky's "*Malthusianism and Socialism*" in *Die Neue Zeit*, XXIX, 1, 1911.

A criticism of the economic doctrine of Marx, from the point of view of the so-called marginal utility theory that is widespread among bourgeois professors, is contained in the following works: Böhm-Bawerk, *Zum Abschluss des Marxschen Systems*** (Berlin, 1896, in *Staatswiss. Arbeiten, Festgabe für K. Knies*), Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1897, *The Theory of Marx and Its Criticism*, and also his *Kapital und Kapitalzins*, 2nd ed., two volumes, Innsbruck, 1900-02 (Russian translation, *Capital and Profits*, St. Petersburg, 1909). See also: Riekes, *Wert und Tauschwert* (1899)***; von Bortkiewicz, *Wertrechnung und Preisrechnung im Marxschen System* (*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1906-07)****; Leo von Buch, *Über die Elemente der politischen Ökonomie*. I. Th. *Die Intensität d. Arbeit, Wert u. Preis***** (published also in Russian). For an analysis of Böhm-Bawerk's critique from a Marxist point of view see

* Compère-Morel, *Agrarian Question and Socialism in France.—Ed.*

** Böhm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System.—Ed.*

*** Riekes, *Value and Exchange Value* (1899).—*Ed.*

**** Von Bortkiewicz, *Calculation of Value and Calculation of Price in the Marxian System* (*Archive for Social Science, 1906-07*).—*Ed.*

***** Leo von Buch, *On the Elements of Political Economy. Intensity of Labour, Value and Price.—Ed.*

Hilferding's *Böhm-Bawerks Marx-Kritik** (*Marx-Studien*, I. Band, Vienna, 1904), and in shorter articles published in *Die Neue Zeit*.

On the question of the two main currents in the interpretation and development of Marxism—the "revisionist" and the radical ("orthodox")—see Eduard Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (German original, Stuttgart, 1899; Russian translations: *Historical Materialism*, St. Petersburg, 1901, and *Social Problems*, Moscow, 1901); see also his *From the History and Theory of Socialism*, St. Petersburg, 1902. A reply to Bernstein is contained in Karl Kautsky's *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm* (German original, Stuttgart, 1899; Russian translation in four editions; 1905-06) For French Marxist literature see Jules Guesde's *Quatre ans de lutte des classes*, *En garde!* and *Questions d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1911)**; Paul Lafargue, *Le déterminisme économique de K. Marx* (Paris, 1909)***; Anton Pannekoek, *Zwei Tendenzen in der Arbeiterbewegung*.****

On the question of the Marxist theory of the accumulation of capital there is a new work by Rosa Luxemburg. *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* (Berlin, 1913),***** and an analysis of her incorrect interpretation of Marx's theory by Otto Bauer, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* (*Die Neue Zeit*, XXXI, 1, 1913, S. 831 und 862).****** See also Eckstein in *Vorwärts* and Pannekoek in *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* for 1913.

Of the older Russian literature on Marxism the following should be noted: B. Chicherin, "The German Socialists", in Bezobrazov's *Collection of Political Science*, St. Petersburg, 1888, and *The History of Political Doctrines*, Part 5, Moscow, 1902, 156 pages; a reply to the above by Zieber, "The German Economists Through Mr. Chicherin's Glasses", in his *Collected*

* Hilferding, *Böhm-Bawerk's Criticism of Marx.—Ed.*

** Jules Guesde, *Four Years of Class Struggle*, *On Guard! Questions of Today*, Paris, 1911.—*Ed.*

*** Paul Lafargue, *Economic Determinism. The Historical Method of Karl Marx*, Paris, 1909.—*Ed.*

**** Anton Pannekoek, *Two Tendencies in the Labour Movement.—Ed.*

***** Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, Berlin, 1913.—*Ed.*

****** Otto Bauer. *The Accumulation of Capital* (*Die Neue Zeit*, XXI. 1, 1913, pp. 831 and 862).—*Ed.*

Works, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1900; L Slonimsky, *The Economic Doctrine of Karl Marx*, St. Petersburg, 1898; N. Zieber, *David Ricardo and Karl Marx in Their Socio-economic Investigations*, St. Petersburg, 1885, and his *Collected Works*, in two volumes, St. Petersburg, 1900. Also J. Kaufmann's (J. K—n) review of *Capital* in *Vestnik Yevropy* for 1872, No. 5—an article marked by the fact that, in his addendum to the second edition of *Capital*, Marx quoted J. K—n's arguments, recognising them as a correct exposition of his dialectical-materialist method.

The Russian Narodniks on Marxism: N. K. Mikhailovsky—in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, 1894, No. 10, and 1895, Nos. 1 and 2; also reprinted in his *Collected Works*—remarks on P. Struve's *Critical Notes* (St. Petersburg, 1894). Mikhailovsky's views were analysed from a Marxist point of view by K. Tulin (V. Ilyin) in his *Data Characterising Our Economic Development* (St. Petersburg, 1895, destroyed by the censor), later reprinted in V. Ilyin's *For Twelve Years*, St. Petersburg, 1908. Other Narodnik works: V. V., *Our Lines of Policy*, St. Petersburg, 1892, and *From the Seventies to the Twentieth Century*, St. Petersburg, 1907; Nikolai—on, *Outline of Our Post-Reform Social Economy*, St. Petersburg, 1893; V. Chernov, *Marxism and the Agrarian Problem*, St. Petersburg, 1906, and *Philosophical and Sociological Sketches*, St. Petersburg, 1907.

Besides the Narodniks, the following may also be mentioned: N. Kareyev, *Old and New Sketches on Historical Materialism*, St. Petersburg, 1896, 2nd edition in 1913 under the title *A Critique of Economic Materialism*; Masaryk, *Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Marxism* [in Russian], Moscow, 1900; Croce, *Historical Materialism and Marxian Economy* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1902.

For a correct appraisal of Marx's views, an acquaintance is essential with the works of Frederick Engels, his closest fellow-thinker and collaborator. It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account *all* the works of Engels.

For a critique of Marx from the point of view of anarchism, see V. Cherkezov, *The Doctrines of Marxism*, two parts, St. Petersburg, 1905, V. Tucker, *In Lieu of a Book* [in Russian], Moscow, 1907; Sorel (a syndicalist), *Social Studies of Modern Economy*, Moscow, 1908.

A GERMAN VOICE ON THE WAR

"In a single night the aspect of the world has changed.... Everyone puts the blame on his neighbour, everyone claims to be on the defensive, to act only in a state of urgent defence. Everyone, don't you see, is defending only his most sacred values, the hearth, the fatherland.... National vainglory and national aggressiveness triumph.... Even the great international working class obeys national orders, workers are killing one another on the battlefields.... Our civilisation has proved bankrupt.... Writers of European fame are not ashamed to come forth as ragingly blind chauvinists.... We had too much faith in the possibility of imperialist madness being curbed by the fear of economic ruin.... We are going through an undisguised imperialist struggle for mastery of the world. There is no trace anywhere of a struggle for great ideas, except perhaps the overthrow of the Russian Minotaur ... the tsar and his grand dukes who have delivered to the hangmen the noblest men of their country.... But do we not see how noble France, the bearer of ideals of liberty, has become the ally of the hangman tsar? How honest Germany ... is breaking its word and is strangling unhappy neutral Belgium? ... How will it all end? If poverty becomes too great, if despair gains the upper hand, if brother recognises his brother in the uniform of an enemy, then perhaps something very unexpected may still come, arms may perhaps be turned against those who are urging people into the war and nations that have been made to hate one another may perhaps forget that hatred, and suddenly unite. We do not want to be prophets, but should the European war bring us one step closer to a European social republic, then this war, after all, will not have been as senseless as it seems at present."

Whose voice is this? Perhaps one coming from a German Social-Democrat?

Far from it! Headed by Kautsky, the German Social-Democrats have become "wretched counter-revolutionary windbags",[40] as Marx called those Social-Democrats who, after the publication of the Anti-Socialist Law, behaved "in accord with the circumstances", in the manner of Haase, Kautsky, Südekum and Co. today.

No, our quotation is from a magazine of petty-bourgeois Christian democrats published by a group of kind-hearted little churchmen in Zurich (*Neue Wege*, *Blätter für religiöse Arbeit*,* September, 1914). That is the limit of humiliation we have come to: God-fearing philistines go as far as to say that it would not be bad to turn weapons against those who "are urging people into the war", while "authoritative" Social-Democrats like Kautsky "scientifically" defend the most despicable chauvinism, or, like Plekhanov, declare the propaganda of civil war against the bourgeoisie a harmful "utopia"!

Indeed, if such "Social-Democrats" wish to be in the majority and to form the official "International" (=an alliance for international justification of national chauvinism), then is it not better to give up the name of "Social-Democrats", which has been besmirched and degraded by them, and return to the old Marxist name of Communists? Kautsky once threatened to do that when the opportunist Bernsteinians[41] seemed to be close to conquering the German party officially. What was an idle threat from his lips will perhaps become *action* to others.

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* *New Ways, Pages for Religious Work.—Ed.*

DEAD CHAUVINISM AND LIVING SOCIALISM

HOW THE INTERNATIONAL CAN BE RESTORED

For decades, German Social-Democracy was a model to the Social-Democrats of Russia, even somewhat more than to the Social-Democrats of the whole world. It is therefore clear that there can be no intelligent, i.e., critical, attitude towards the now prevalent social-patriotism or "socialist" chauvinism, without a most precise definition of one's attitude towards German Social-Democracy. What was it in the past? What is it today? What will it be in the future?

A reply to the first of these questions may be found in *Der Weg zur Macht*, a pamphlet written by K. Kautsky in 1909 and translated into many European languages. Containing a most complete exposition of the tasks of our times it was most advantageous to the German Social-Democrats (in the sense of the promise they held out), and moreover came from the pen of the most eminent writer of the Second International. We shall recall the pamphlet in some detail-this will be the more useful now since those forgotten ideals are so often barefacedly cast aside.

Social-Democracy is a "revolutionary party" (as stated in the opening sentence of the pamphlet), not only in the sense that a steam engine is revolutionary, but "also in another sense". It wants conquest of political power by the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Heaping ridicule on "doubters of the revolution", Kautsky writes: "In any important movement and uprising we must, of course, reckon with the possibility of defeat. Prior to the struggle only a fool can consider himself quite certain of victory." However, to refuse to consider the possibility of victory

would be "a direct betrayal of our cause". A revolution in connection with a war, he says, is possible both during and after a war. It is impossible to determine at which particular moment the sharpening of class antagonisms will lead to revolution, but, the author continues, "I can quite definitely assert that a revolution that war brings in its wake, will break out either during or immediately after the war"; nothing is more vulgar, we read further, than the theory of "the peaceful growing into socialism". "Nothing is more erroneous," he continues, "than the opinion that a cognition of economic necessity means a weakening of the will.... The will, as a desire for struggle," he says, "is determined, first, by the price of the struggle, secondly, by a sense of power, and thirdly, by actual power." When an attempt was made, incidentally by *Vorwärts*, to interpret Engels's famous preface to *The Class Struggles in France* in the meaning of opportunism, Engels became indignant, and called shameful any assumption that he was a "peaceful worshipper of legality at any price".[42] "We have every reason to believe," Kautsky goes on to say, "that we are entering upon a period of struggle for state power." That struggle may last for decades; that is something we do not know, but "it will in all probability bring about, in the near future, a considerable strengthening of the proletariat, if not its dictatorship, in Western Europe". The revolutionary elements are growing, Kautsky declares: out of ten million voters in Germany in 1895, there were six million proletarians and three and a half million people interested in private property; in 1907 the latter grew by 0.03 million, and the former by 1.6 million! "The rate of the advance becomes very rapid as soon as a time of revolutionary ferment comes." Class antagonisms are not blunted but, on the contrary, grow acute; prices rise, and imperialist rivalry and militarism are rampant. "A new era of revolution" is drawing near. The monstrous growth of taxes would "long ago have led to war as the only alternative to revolution ... had not that very alternative of revolution stood closer after a war than after a period of armed peace...". "A world war is ominously imminent," Kautsky continues, "and war means also revolution." In 1891 Engels had reason to fear a premature revolution in Germany; since then, however, "the

situation has greatly changed". The proletariat "can no longer speak of a *premature* revolution" (Kautsky's italics). The petty bourgeoisie is downright unreliable and is ever more hostile to the proletariat, but in a time of crisis it is "capable of coming over to our side in masses". The main thing is that Social-Democracy "should remain unshakable, consistent, and irreconcilable". We have undoubtedly entered a revolutionary period.

This is how Kautsky wrote in times long, long past, fully five years ago. This is what German Social-Democracy was, or, more correctly, what it promised to be. This was the kind of Social-Democracy that could and had to be respected.

See what the selfsame Kautsky writes today. Here are the most important statements in his article "Social-Democracy in Wartime" (*Die Neue Zeit* No. 1, October 2, 1914): "Our Party has far more rarely discussed the question of how to behave in wartime than how to prevent war.... Never is government so strong, never are parties so weak, as at the outbreak of war.... Wartime is least of all favourable to peaceful discussion.... Today the practical question is: victory or defeat for one's own country." Can there be an understanding among the parties of the belligerent countries regarding anti-war action? "That kind of thing has never been tested in practice. We have always disputed that possibility...." The difference between the French and German socialists is "not one of principle" (as both defend their fatherlands).... "Social-Democrats of all countries have an equal right or an equal obligation to take part in the defence of the fatherland: no nation should blame the other for doing so...." "Has the International turned bankrupt?" "Has the Party rejected direct defence of its party principles in wartime?" (Mehring's questions in the same issue.) "That is an erroneous conception.... There are no grounds at all for such pessimism.... The differences are not fundamental.... Unity of principles remains.... To disobey wartime laws would simply lead to suppression of our press." Obedience to these laws "implies rejection of defence of party principles just as little as similar behaviour of our party press under that sword of Damocles—the Anti-Socialist Law."

We have purposely quoted from the original because it is hard to believe that such things could have been written. It is hard to find in literature (except in that coming from downright renegades) such smug vulgarity, such shameful departure from the truth, such unsavoury subterfuge to cover up the most patent renunciation both of socialism in general and of precise international decisions unanimously adopted (as, for instance, in Stuttgart and particularly in Basle) precisely in view of the possibility of a European war just like the present! It would be disrespectful towards the reader were we to treat Kautsky's arguments in earnest and try to analyse them: if the European war differs in many respects from a simple "little" anti-Jewish pogrom, the "socialist" arguments in favour of participation in such a war *fully* resemble the "democratic" arguments in favour of participation in an anti-Jewish pogrom. One does not analyse arguments in favour of a pogrom; one only points them out so as to put their authors to shame in the sight of all class-conscious workers.

But how *could* it have come to pass, the reader will ask, that the leading authority in the Second International, a writer who once defended the views quoted at the beginning of this article, has sunk to something that is worse than being a renegade? That will not be understood, we answer, only by those who, perhaps unconsciously, consider that nothing out of the ordinary has happened, and that it is not difficult to "forgive and forget", etc., i.e., by those who regard the matter from the renegade's point of view. Those, however, who have earnestly and sincerely professed socialist convictions and have held the views set forth in the beginning of this article will not be surprised to learn that "*Vorwärts* is dead" (Martov's expression in the Paris *Golos*) and that Kautsky is "dead". The political bankruptcy of individuals is not a rarity at turning points in history. Despite the tremendous services he has rendered, Kautsky has never been among those who, at great crises, immediately take a militant Marxist stand (recall his vacillations on the issue of Millerandism[43]).

It is such times that we are passing through. "You shoot first, Messieurs the Bourgeoisie!"[44] Engels wrote in 1891, advocating, most correctly, the use of bourgeois legality by

us, revolutionaries, in the period of so-called peaceful constitutional development. Engels's idea was crystal clear: we class-conscious workers, he said, will be the next to shoot; it is to our advantage to exchange ballots for bullets (to go over to civil war) at the moment the bourgeoisie itself has broken the legal foundation it has laid down. In 1909 Kautsky voiced the undisputed opinion held by all revolutionary Social-Democrats when he said that revolution in Europe cannot now be *premature* and that war means revolution.

"Peaceful" decades, however, have not passed without leaving their mark. They have of necessity given rise to opportunism in all countries, and made it prevalent among parliamentarian, trade union, journalistic and other "leaders". There is no country in Europe where, in one form or another, a long and stubborn struggle has not been conducted against opportunism, the latter being supported in a host of ways by the entire bourgeoisie, which is striving to corrupt and weaken the revolutionary proletariat. Fifteen years ago, at the outset of the Bernstein controversy, the selfsame Kautsky wrote that should opportunism turn from a sentiment into a trend, a split would be imminent. In Russia, the old *Iskra*,[45] which created the Social-Democratic Party of the working class, declared, in an article which appeared in its second issue early in 1901, under the title of "On the Threshold of the Twentieth Century", that the revolutionary class of the twentieth century, like the revolutionary class of the eighteenth century—the bourgeoisie, had its own *Gironde* and its own *Mountain*.[46]

The European war is a tremendous historical crisis, the beginning of a new epoch. Like any crisis, the war has aggravated deep-seated antagonisms and brought them to the surface, tearing asunder all veils of hypocrisy, rejecting all conventions and deflating all corrupt or rotting authorities. (This, incidentally, is the salutary and progressive effect of all crises, which only the dull-witted adherents of "peaceful evolution" fail to realise.) The Second International, which in its twenty-five or forty-five years of existence (according to whether the reckoning is from 1870 or 1889) was able to perform the highly important and useful work of expanding the influence of socialism and giving the socialist forces preparatory, initial and elementary

organisation, has played its historical role and has passed away, overcome, not so much by the von Klucks as by opportunism. Let the dead bury their dead. Let the empty-headed busy-bodies (if not the intriguing lackeys of the chauvinists and the opportunists) labour at the task of bringing together Vandervelde and Sembat with Kautsky and Haase, as though we had another Ivan Ivanovich, who has called Ivan Nikiforovich a "gander", and has to be urged by his friends to make it up with his enemy.[47] An International does not mean sitting at the same table and having hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions written by people who think that genuine internationalism consists in German socialists justifying the German bourgeoisie's call to shoot down French workers, and in French socialists justifying the French bourgeoisie's call to shoot down German workers in the name of the "defence of the fatherland"! The International consists in the coming together (first ideologically, then in due time organisationally as well) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending socialist internationalism in deed, i.e., of mustering their forces and "being the next to shoot" at the governments and the ruling classes of their *own respective* "fatherlands". This is no easy task; it calls for much preparation and great sacrifices and will be accompanied by reverses. However, for the very reason that it is no easy task, it must be accomplished only together with those who *wish* to perform it and are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism.

Such people as Pannekoek are doing more than anyone else for the sincere, not hypocritical restoration of a socialist, not a chauvinist, International. In an article entitled "The Collapse of the International", Pannekoek said: "If the leaders get together in an attempt to patch up their differences, that will be of no significance at all."

Let us frankly state the facts; in any case the war will *compel* us to do so, if not tomorrow, then the day after. Three currents exist in international socialism: (I) the chauvinists, who are consistently pursuing a policy of opportunism; (2) the consistent opponents of opportunism, who in all countries have already begun to make themselves heard (the opportunists have routed most of them, but

"defeated armies learn fast"), and are capable of conducting revolutionary work directed towards civil war; (3) confused and vacillating people, who at present are following in the wake of the opportunists and are causing the proletariat most harm by their hypocritical attempts to justify opportunism, something that they do almost scientifically and using the Marxist (*sic*!) method. Some of those who are engulfed in the latter current can be saved and restored to socialism, but only through a policy of a most decisive break and split with the former current, with all those who are capable of justifying the war credits vote, "the defence of the fatherland", "submission to wartime laws", a willingness to be satisfied with legal means only, and the rejection of civil war. Only those who pursue a policy like *this* are really building up a socialist International. For our part, we, who have established links with the Russian Collegium of the Central Committee and with the leading elements of the working-class movement in Petrograd, have exchanged opinions with them and become convinced that we are agreed on the main points, are in a position, as editors of the Central Organ, to declare in the name of our Party that only work conducted in this direction is Party work and Social-Democratic work.

The idea of a split in the German Social-Democratic movement may seem alarming to many in its "unusualness". The objective situation, however, goes to show that either the unusual will come to pass (after all, Adler and Kautsky did declare, at the last session of the International Socialist Bureau[48] in July 1914, that they did not believe in miracles, and therefore did not believe in a European war!) or we shall witness the painful decomposition of what was once German Social-Democracy. In conclusion, we would like to remind those who are too prone to "trust" the (*former*) German Social-Democrats that people who have been our opponents on a number of issues have arrived at the idea of such a split. Thus Martov has written in *Golos*; "*Vorwärts* is dead.... A Social-Democracy which publicly renounces the class struggle would do better to recognise the facts as they are, temporarily disband its organisation, and close down its organs." Thus Plekhanov is quoted by *Golos* as having said in a report: "I am very much against splits,

but if principles are sacrificed for the integrity of the organisation, then better a split than false unity." Plekhanov was referring to the German radicals: he sees a mote in the eye of the Germans, but not the beam in his own eye. This is an individual feature in him; over the past ten years we have all grown quite used to Plekhanov's radicalism in theory and opportunism in practice. However, if even persons with *such* "oddities" begin to talk of a split among the Germans, it is a sign of the times.

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ON THE NATIONAL PRIDE OF THE GREAT RUSSIANS

What a lot of talk, argument and vociferation there is nowadays about nationality and the fatherland! Liberal and radical cabinet ministers in Britain, a host of "forward-looking" journalists in France (who have proved in full agreement with their reactionary colleagues), and a swarm of official Cadet and progressive scribblers in Russia (including several Narodniks and "Marxists")—all have effusive praise for the liberty and independence of their respective countries, the grandeur of the principle of national independence. Here one cannot tell where the venal eulogist of the butcher Nicholas Romanov[49] or of the brutal oppressors of Negroes and Indians ends, and where the common philistine, who from sheer stupidity or spinelessness drifts with the stream, begins. Nor is that distinction important. We see before us an extensive and very deep ideological trend, whose origins are closely interwoven with the interests of the landowners and the capitalists of the dominant nations. Scores and hundreds of millions are being spent every year for the propaganda of ideas advantageous to those classes: it is a pretty big mill-race that takes its waters from all sources—from Menshikov, a chauvinist by conviction, to chauvinists for reason of opportunism or spinelessness such as Plekhanov and Maslov, Rubanovich and Smirnov, Kropotkin and Burtsev.

Let us, Great-Russian Social-Democrats, also try to define our attitude to this ideological trend. It would be unseemly for us, representatives of a dominant nation in the far east of Europe and a goodly part of Asia, to forget the immense significance of the national question—especially

in a country which has been rightly called the "prison of the peoples", and particularly at a time when, in the far east of Europe and in Asia, capitalism is awakening to life and self-consciousness a number of "new" nations, large and small; at a moment when the tsarist monarchy has called up millions of Great Russians and non-Russians, so as to "solve" a number of national problems in accordance with the interests of the Council of the United Nobility[50] and of the Guchkovs, Krestovnikovs, Dolgorukovs, Kutlers and Rodichevs.

Is a sense of national pride alien to us, Great-Russian class-conscious proletarians? Certainly not! We love our language and our country, and we are doing our very utmost to raise *her* toiling masses (i.e., nine-tenths of *her* population) to the level of a democratic and socialist consciousness. To us it is most painful to see and feel the outrages, the oppression and the humiliation our fair country suffers at the hands of the tsar's butchers, the nobles and the capitalists. We take pride in the resistance to these outrages put up from our midst, from the Great Russians; in *that* midst having produced Radishchev,[51] the Decembrists[52] and the revolutionary commoners of the seventies[53]; in the Great-Russian working class having created, in 1905, a mighty revolutionary party of the masses; and in the Great-Russian peasantry having begun to turn towards democracy and set about overthrowing the clergy and the landed proprietors.

We remember that Chernyshevsky, the Great-Russian democrat, who dedicated his life to the cause of revolution, said half a century ago: "A wretched nation, a nation of slaves, from top to bottom—all slaves."[54] The overt and covert Great-Russian slaves (slaves with regard to the tsarist monarchy) do not like to recall these words. Yet, in our opinion, these were words of genuine love for our country, a love distressed by the absence of a revolutionary spirit in the masses of the Great-Russian people. There was none of that spirit at the time. There is little of it now, but it already exists. We are full of national pride because the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class, because it, *too*, has proved capable of providing mankind with great models of the struggle for freedom and socialism, and not only with great pogroms, rows of

gallows, dungeons, great famines and great servility to priests, tsars, landowners and capitalists.

We are full of a sense of national pride, and for that very reason we *particularly* hate *our* slavish past (when the landed nobility led the peasants into war to stifle the freedom of Hungary, Poland, Persia and China), and our slavish present, when these selfsame landed proprietors, aided by the capitalists, are loading us into a war in order to throttle Poland and the Ukraine, crush the democratic movement in Persia and China, and strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskys and Purishkeviches, who are a disgrace to our Great-Russian national dignity. Nobody is to be blamed for being born a slave; but a slave who not only eschews a striving for freedom but justifies and eulogises his slavery (e.g., calls the throttling of Poland and the Ukraine, etc., a "defence of the fatherland" of the Great Russians)—such a slave is a lickspittle and a boor, who arouses a legitimate feeling of indignation, contempt, and loathing.

"No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," said Marx and Engels, the greatest representatives of consistent nineteenth century democracy, who became the teachers of the revolutionary proletariat. And, full of a sense of national pride, we Great-Russian workers want, come what may, a free and independent, a democratic, republican and proud Great Russia, one that will base its relations with its neighbours on the human principle of equality, and not on the feudalist principle of privilege, which is so degrading to a great nation. Just because we want that, we say: it is impossible, in the twentieth century and in Europe (even in the far east of Europe), to "defend the fatherland" otherwise than by using every revolutionary means to combat the monarchy, the landowners and the capitalists of one's *own* fatherland, i.e., the *worst* enemies of our country. We say that the Great Russians cannot "defend the fatherland" otherwise than by desiring the defeat of tsarism in any war, this as the lesser evil to nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Great Russia. For tsarism not only oppresses those nine-tenths economically and politically, but also demoralises, degrades, dishonours and prostitutes them by teaching them to oppress other nations and to cover up this shame with hypocritical and quasi-patriotic phrases.

The objection may be advanced that, besides tsarism and under its wing, another historical force has arisen and become strong, viz., Great-Russian capitalism, which is carrying on progressive work by economically centralising and welding together vast regions. This objection, however, does not excuse, but on the contrary still more condemns our socialist-chauvinists, who should be called tsarist-Purishkevich socialists[55] (just as Marx called the Lassalleans Royal-Prussian socialists).[56] Let us even assume that history will decide in favour of Great-Russian dominant-nation capitalism, and against the hundred and one small nations. That is not impossible, for the entire history of capital is one of violence and plunder, blood and corruption. We do not advocate preserving small nations at all costs; *other conditions being equal*, we are decidedly for centralisation and are opposed to the petty-bourgeois ideal of federal relationships. Even if our assumption were true, however, it is, firstly, not our business, or that of democrats (let alone of socialists), to help Romanov-Bobrinsky-Purishkevich throttle the Ukraine, etc. In his own Junker fashion, Bismarck accomplished a progressive historical task, but he would be a fine "Marxist" indeed who, on such grounds, thought of justifying socialist support for Bismarck! Moreover, Bismarck promoted economic development by bringing together the disunited Germans, who were being oppressed by other nations. The economic prosperity and rapid development of Great Russia, however, require that the country be liberated from Great-Russian oppression of other nations—that is the difference that our admirers of the true-Russian would-be Bismarcks overlook.

Secondly, if history were to decide in favour of Great-Russian dominant-nation capitalism, it follows hence that the *socialist* role of the Great-Russian proletariat, as the principal driving force of the communist revolution engendered by capitalism, will be all the greater. The proletarian revolution calls for a prolonged education of the workers in the spirit of the *fullest* national equality and brotherhood. Consequently, the interests of the Great-Russian proletariat require that the masses be systematically educated to champion—most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner—complete equality and the right to self-determination for all the nations oppressed

by the Great Russians. The interests of the Great Russians' national pride (understood, not in the slavish sense) coincide with the *socialist* interests of the Great-Russian (and all other) proletarians. Our model will always be Marx, who, after living in Britain for decades and becoming half-English, demanded freedom and national independence for Ireland in the interests of the socialist movement of the British workers.

In the second hypothetical case we have considered, our home-grown socialist-chauvinists, Plekhanov, etc., etc., will prove traitors, not only to their own country—a free and democratic Great Russia, but also to the proletarian brotherhood of all the nations of Russia, i.e., to the cause of socialism.

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WHAT NEXT?

ON THE TASKS CONFRONTING THE WORKERS' PARTIES WITH REGARD TO OPPORTUNISM AND SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

The tremendous crisis created within European socialism by the world war has (as is always the case in great crises) resulted first in enormous confusion; it then led to a series of new groupings taking shape among representatives of various currents, shades and views in socialism; finally, it raised, with particular acuteness and insistence, the question of what changes in the *foundations* of socialist policy follow from the crisis and are demanded by it. Between August and December 1914, the socialists of Russia also passed through these three "stages" in a marked fashion. We all know that there was no little confusion at the beginning; the confusion was increased by the tsarist persecutions, by the behaviour of the "Europeans", and by the war alarm. In Paris and Switzerland, where there was the greatest number of political exiles, the greatest links with Russia, and the greatest degree of freedom, a new definite line of demarcation between the various attitudes towards problems raised by the war was being drawn, during September and October, at discussions, lectures, and in the press. It can safely be said that there is not a single shade of opinion in any current (or group) of socialism (and near-socialism) in Russia which has not found expression and been analysed. The general feeling is that the time has come for precise and positive conclusions capable of serving as the basis of systematic and practical activity, propaganda, agitation, and organisation. The situation is clear, all have expressed themselves. Let us now see *who is with whom, and whither the courses have been taken.*

On November 23 (N.S.), on the day following the publication in Petrograd of a government communiqué on the arrest of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma,[57] an event took place at the congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party in Stockholm, which finally and irrevocably placed on the order of the day the two questions just emphasised.[58] Readers will find below a description of this event, namely, a full translation, from the official Swedish Social-Democratic report, of the speeches both of Belenin (representing the Central Committee) and of Larin (representing the Organising Committee),[59] and also the debate on the question raised by Branting.

For the first time since the outbreak of war, a representative of our Party, of its Central Committee, and a representative of the liquidationist Organising Committee met at a congress of socialists of a neutral country. What did their speeches differ in? Belenin took a most definite stand regarding the grave, painful but momentous issues of the present-day socialist movement; quoting *Sotsial-Demokrat*,[60] the Party's Central Organ, he came out with a resolute declaration of war against opportunism, branding the behaviour of the German Social-Democratic leaders (and "many others") as *treachery*. Larin took no stand at all; he passed over the essence of the question in silence, confining himself to those hackneyed, hollow and moth-eaten phrases that always win hand-claps from opportunists and social-chauvinists in all countries. But then, Belenin said nothing at all about our attitude towards the other Social-Democratic parties or groups in Russia, as though intimating: "Such is our stand; as for the others, we shall not express ourselves as yet, but shall wait and see *which course* they will take." Larin, on the contrary, unfurled the banner of "unity", shed a tear over the "bitter fruit of the split in Russia", and depicted in gorgeous colours the "work of unification" carried on by the Organising Committee, which, be said, had united Plekhanov, the Caucasians, the Bundists, the Poles,[61] *and so forth*. Larin's intentions will be dealt with elsewhere (see below: "The Kind of Unity Larin Proclaimed"*). What interests us here is the fundamental question of unity.

* See pp. 115-17 of this volume.—*Ed*.

We have before us two slogans. One is: war against the opportunists and the social-chauvinists, who are traitors. The other is: unity in Russia, in particular with Plekhanov (who, we shall state parenthetically, is behaving with us in exactly the same way as Südekum* with the Germans, Hyndman with the British, etc.). Is it not obvious that, though he is afraid to call things by their proper names, Larin has in fact come out as advocate of the opportunists and social-chauvinists?

Let us, however, consider in general and in the light of present-day events the meaning of the "unity" slogan. The proletariat's unity is its greatest weapon in the struggle for the socialist revolution. From this indisputable truth it follows just as indisputably that, when a proletarian party is joined by a considerable number of petty-bourgeois elements capable of *hampering* the struggle for the socialist revolution, unity with such elements is harmful and perilous to the cause of the proletariat. Present-day events have shown that, on the one hand, the objective conditions are ripe for an imperialist war (i.e., a war reflecting the last and highest stage of capitalism), and, on the other hand, that decades of a so-called peaceful epoch have allowed an *accumulation* of petty-bourgeois and opportunist junk *within* the socialist parties of all the European countries. Some fifteen years ago, during the celebrated "Bernsteiniad" in Germany—and even earlier in many other countries—the question of the opportunist and *alien* elements within the proletarian parties had become a burning issue. There is hardly a single Marxist of note who has not recognised many times and on various occasions that the opportunists are in fact a non-proletarian element hostile to the socialist revolution. The particularly rapid growth of this social element of late years is beyond doubt: it includes officials of the legal labour unions, parliamentarians and the other intellectuals, who have got themselves easy and comfortable posts in the legal mass movement, some sections of the better paid workers, office employees, etc., etc. The

* Plekhanov's pamphlet, *On the War* (Paris, 1914), which we have just received, confirms very convincingly the truth of the assertions made in the text. We shall return to this pamphlet later on.

war has clearly proved that at a moment of crisis (and the imperialist era will undoubtedly be one of all kinds of crises) a sizable mass of opportunists, supported and often directly guided by the bourgeoisie (this is of particular importance!), go over to the latter's camp, betray socialism, damage the workers' cause, and attempt to ruin it. In every crisis the bourgeoisie will always aid the opportunists, will always try to suppress the revolutionary section of the proletariat, stopping short of nothing and employing the most unlawful and savage *military* measures. The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution, who in peaceful times carry on their bourgeois work in secret, concealing themselves within the workers' parties, while in times of crisis they *immediately* prove to be open allies of the *entire* united bourgeoisie, from the conservative to the most radical and democratic part of the latter, from the free thinkers, to the religious and clerical sections. Anyone who has failed to understand this truth *after* the events we have gone through is hopelessly deceiving both himself and the workers. Individual desertions are inevitable under the present conditions, but their significance, it should be remembered, is determined by the existence of a *section* and *current* of petty-bourgeois opportunists. Such social-chauvinists, as Hyndman, Vandervelde, Guesde, Plekhanov and Kautsky, would be of no significance whatever if their spineless and banal speeches in defence of bourgeois patriotism were not taken up by the entire social strata of opportunists and by swarms of bourgeois papers and bourgeois politicians.

Typical of the socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International was one that tolerated in its midst an opportunism built up in decades of the "peaceful" period, an opportunism that kept itself secret, adapting itself to the revolutionary workers, *borrowing* their Marxist terminology, and evading any clear cleavage of principles. This type has outlived itself. If the war ends in 1915, will any thinking socialist be found willing to begin, in 1916, restoring the workers' parties *together* with the opportunists, *knowing from experience* that in any new crisis all of them *to a man* (plus many other spineless and muddle-headed people) will be for the bourgeoisie, who will of course find a pretext to ban any talk of class hatred and the class struggle?

In Italy, the party was the exception for the period of the Second International; the opportunists, headed by Bissolati, were expelled from the party. In the present crisis, the results have proved *excellent*: people of various trends of opinion have not deceived the workers or blinded them with pearls of eloquence regarding "unity"; each of them followed his own road. The opportunists (and deserters from the workers' party such as Mussolini) practised social-chauvinism, lauding (as Plekhanov did) "gallant Belgium", thereby shielding the policies, not of a gallant, but of a bourgeois Italy, which would plunder the Ukraine and Galicia ... I mean, Albania, Tunisia, etc., etc. Meanwhile, the socialists were waging *against them* a war against war, in preparation of a *civil* war. We are not at all idealising the Italian Socialist Party and in no way guarantee that it will stand firm should Italy enter the war. We are speaking not of the future of that party, but only of the present. We are stating the indisputable *fact* that the workers in most European countries have been *deceived by the fictitious unity* of the opportunists and the revolutionaries, Italy being the happy exception, a country where no such deception exists at present. What was a happy exception for the Second International should and *shall* become the rule for the Third International. While capitalism persists, the proletariat will always be a close neighbour to the petty bourgeoisie. It is sometimes unwise to reject temporary alliances with the latter, but *unity* with them, unity with the opportunists can be defended *at present* only by the enemies of the proletariat or by hoodwinked *traditionalists* of a bygone period.

Today, following 1914, unity of the proletarian struggle for the socialist revolution demands that the workers' parties separate themselves completely from the parties of the opportunists. What we understand by opportunism has been clearly said in the Manifesto of the Central Committee (No. 33, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy"*).

But what do we see in Russia? Is it good or bad for the working-class movement of our country to have unity between people who, in one way or another and with more or

* See pp. 25-34 of this volume.—*Ed.*

less consistency, are combating chauvinism—of both the Purishkevich and the Cadet brand—and people who echo that chauvinism, like Maslov, Plekhanov and Smirnov? Is it good to have unity between people engaged in anti-war action and such that declare that they will not oppose the war, like-the influential authors of "Document" (No. 34)[62]? Only those who wish to turn a blind eye to things will find difficulty in answering this question.

The objection may be made that Martov has polemised with Plekhanov in *Golos* and, together with a number of other friends and partisans of the Organising Committee, has battled against social-chauvinism. We do not deny this, and had words of praise for Martov in No. 33 of the Central Organ. We would be very glad if Martov were not "turned about" (see the article, "Martov Turns About"); we would very much like a decisive anti-chauvinist line to become the line of the Organising Committee. That, however, does not depend upon our wishes, *or upon any one else's*. What are the objective facts? First, Larin, the Organising Committee's official representative, is for some reason silent about *Golos*, while naming the social-chauvinist Plekhanov, and also Axelrod, who wrote an article (in *Berner Tagwacht*[63]) so as not to say a single definite word there. Moreover, Larin, apart from his official position, is *more* than geographically close to the influential central group of the liquidators in Russia. Secondly, there is the European press. In France and Germany, the papers are saying nothing about *Golos*, while speaking of Rubanovich, Plekhanov, and Chkheidze. (In its issue of December 12, *Hamburger Echo*, one of the most jingoist organs of the jingoist "Social-Democratic" press of Germany, called Chkheidze an adherent of Maslov and Plekhanov; this has also been hinted at by certain papers in Russia. It is clear that all fellow-thinkers of the Südekums fully appreciate the ideological aid Plekhanov has given to the Südekums.) In Russia, millions of copies of bourgeois papers have brought the "people" tidings of Maslov-Plekhanov-Smirnov—but no news of the trend represented by *Golos*. Thirdly, the experience of the legal workers' press of 1912-14 has definitely proved that the source of a certain degree of social strength and influence enjoyed by the liquidationist movement lies, not in the working class, but in that

section of bourgeois-democratic intelligentsia, which has brought the central group of legalist writers to the fore. The national-chauvinist temper of this section *as a section* is testified to by the entire press of Russia, as revealed in the letters of the Petrograd worker (*Sotsial-Demokrat* Nos. 33 and 35) and in the "Document" (No. 34). Considerable personal re-groupings within that section are quite possible, but it is absolutely improbable that, as a section, it should *not* be "patriotic" and opportunist.

Such are the objective facts. Since we take them into account and are aware that it is to the advantage of all bourgeois parties that wish for influence over the workers, to have a Left wing for display (particularly when that wing is unofficial), we must declare the idea of unity with the Organising Committee an illusion detrimental to the workers' cause.

The policy of the Organising Committee who, in far-away Sweden, on November 23, proclaimed their unity with Plekhanov and spoke words sweet to the hearts of all social-chauvinists, while in Paris and in Switzerland they did not bother to make their existence known either on September 13 (when *Golos* appeared) or on November 23 or to this day (December 23), strongly resembles political chicanery of the worst kind. The hope that *Otkliki*,[64] scheduled to appear in Zurich, would be of an official Party nature has been destroyed by a forthright statement in *Berner Tagwacht* (December 12), to the effect that this paper will not be of *such* a nature. (Incidentally, the editors of *Golos* declared in issue No. 52 that to continue at present the rift with the liquidators would be "nationalism" of the worst kind. This phrase, which is devoid of grammatical meaning, has only political meaning that the editors of *Golos* prefer having unity with the social-chauvinists to drawing closer to those who are irreconcilably hostile to social-chauvinism. The editors of *Golos* have made a bad choice.)

To make the picture complete, it remains for us to add a few words about *Mysl*,[65] organ of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, which is published in Paris. This paper *also* lauds "unity", while it shields (cf. *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 34) the social-chauvinism of Rubanovich, its party leader, defends the Franco-Belgian opportunists and ministerialists, says

nothing of the patriotic motives of the speech by Kerensky, one of the extreme radicals among the Russian Trudoviks,[66] and prints well-worn petty-bourgeois vulgarities on the revision of Marxism, in a Narodnik and opportunist spirit. What the resolution of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party's summer conference of 1913[67] said of the Socialist-Revolutionaries has been fully and particularly proved by this behaviour of *Mysl*.

Some Russian socialists seem to think that internationalism consists in a readiness to welcome a resolution containing an international vindication of social-chauvinism in all countries, such as is to be drawn up by Plekhanov and Südekum, Kautsky and Hervé, Guesde and Hyndman, Vandervelde and Bissolati, etc. We permit ourselves the thought that internationalism consists only in an unequivocal internationalist policy within one's party. A genuinely proletarian internationalist policy cannot be pursued, active opposition to the war cannot be preached, and forces for such action cannot be mustered while we are in the company of the opportunists and the social-chauvinists. To find refuge in silence, or to wave this truth aside which, though bitter, is necessary to the socialist, is detrimental and ruinous to the working-class movement.

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THE KIND OF "UNITY" LARIN PROCLAIMED AT THE SWEDISH CONGRESS[68]

In the speech cited by us (No. 36), Larin could have been referring only to the well-known "July Third" bloc,[69] i.e., the alliance concluded in Brussels, on 3.7.1914, between the Organising Committee, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Alexinsky, Plekhanov, the Bundists, the Caucasians, the Lithuanians, the Left wing,[70] the Polish opposition and so on. Why did Larin confine himself to hints? That is strange, to say the least. We are of the opinion that, if the O.C. lives on, and likewise the alliance, it is bad to make a secret of this truth.

The Central Committee of our Party and the Central Committee of the Lettish Social-Democrats did *not* join the alliance. Our Central Committee advanced 14 precise conditions of unity, these being *rejected* by the Organising Committee and the "bloc", who limited themselves to a diplomatic and evasive resolution which, *in fact*, did not promise or signify any decisive turn in the previous liquidationist policy.

Here is the *gist* of our fourteen points: (1) The December 1908 and January 1910 resolutions on liquidationism should be unambiguously confirmed, viz., in a way that will recognise as incompatible with Social-Democratic Party membership statements against the underground, against publicity for the illegal press, for an "open" party (or a struggle for one), against revolutionary meetings, etc. (in the way *Nasha Zarya*[71] and *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*[72] have come out); (2) the same, with reference to statements

against the slogan of a republic, etc.; (3) the same, with reference to statements against a bloc with *non*-S.D. Left-wing party; (4) in each locality there must be a united S.D. organisation, one that is not divided according to nationality; (5) "cultural-national autonomy" to be rejected; (6) the workers are called upon to show "unity from below"; only one who belongs to an illegal organisation can be a member of the party; in the legal press, only figures concerning workers' group contributions since 1913 are to be used in order to ascertain a majority; (7) rival newspapers cannot be permitted in one and the same city; *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* should close down, and a discussion journal to be founded; (8) the resolutions of the 1903 and the 1907 congresses regarding the bourgeois character of the S.R.s are to be confirmed; agreements between part of the S.D. Party and the S.R.s are impermissible; (9) groups abroad are to be subordinated to the Central Committee in Russia; (10) regarding work in the trade unions, the resolution of the London Central Committee (Jan. 1908) should be confirmed; illegal nuclei are necessary; (11) statements against the Insurance Council[73] and other insurance institutions are indefeasible; as a competing publication, *Strakhovaniye Rabochikh*[74] should close down; (12) the Caucasian S.D.s should give special confirmation for points 5 and 4; (13) the Chkheidze group[75] should withdraw "cultural-national autonomy" and recognise the conditions enumerated above; (14) on matters pertaining to "slander" (Malinovsky, X, etc.), the Organising Committee and their friends should either retract their accusations and slander, or else send a representative to the forthcoming congress of our Party, so as to vindicate all their accusations.

It will readily be seen that, without these conditions and with numerous verbal "promises" to renounce liquidationism (as took place at the 1910 Plenary Meeting), nothing will change; "unity" would be a fiction and a recognition of "equality" for the liquidators.

The mighty crisis of socialism as a result of the world war has evoked a supreme effort in all groups of S.D.s and a striving to muster the forces of all who *can* draw together on the fundamental issues of the attitude towards the war. The "July Third" bloc, of which Larin was so boastful

(while reluctant to call it by its own name), at once revealed its fictitiousness.

What is necessary is unflagging caution against fictitious "unity", as long as there is an irreconcilable cleavage in practice.

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February 1, 1915

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the text in *Sotsial-Demokrat*

THE RUSSIAN BRAND OF SÜDEKUM

The word Südekum has come to be used in a generic sense to denote a type of smug and unscrupulous opportunist and social-chauvinist. It is a good sign that the Südekums are held in general contempt. There is, however, only one way for us to avoid falling into chauvinism ourselves in so doing: we must do everything we can to help unmask the Russian Südekums.

By his pamphlet *On the War*, Plekhanov has definitely placed himself at the head of the latter. His arguments are a substitution of sophistry for dialectics all along the line. He sophistically denounces German opportunism so as to shield French and Russian opportunism. The result is not a struggle against international opportunism, but support for it. He sophistically bemoans the fate of Belgium, while saying nothing about Galicia. He sophistically confuses the period of imperialism (i.e., one in which, as all Marxists hold, the objective conditions are ripe for the collapse of capitalism, and there are masses of socialist proletarians) and the period of bourgeois-democratic national movements in other words, he confuses a period in which the destruction of bourgeois fatherlands by an international revolution of the proletariat is imminent, and the period of their inception and consolidation. He sophistically accuses the German bourgeoisie of having broken the peace, while remaining silent about the lengthy and elaborate preparations for a war against Germany by the bourgeoisie of the "Triple Entente".[76] He sophistically evades the Basle resolution. He sophistically substitutes national-liberalism for social-democracy: the desirability of tsarism's victory is ascribed to the interests of Russia's economic progress, while the nationalities in Russia, or tsarism's stunting Russian economic

growth, or the relatively far more rapid and successful growth of Germany's productive forces, and so on and so forth, are all questions that are shied away from. To analyse all of Plekhanov's sophisms would require a series of articles, and many of his ridiculous absurdities are hardly worth going into. We shall touch upon only one of his alleged arguments. In 1870 Engels wrote to Marx that Wilhelm Liebknecht was mistaken in making anti-Bismarckism his *sole* guiding principle.[77] Plekhanov was glad to have discovered the quotation: the same is true, he argues, with regard to anti-tsarism! Let us, however, try to replace sophistry (i.e., the method of clutching at the outward similarity of instances, without considering the nexus between events) with dialectics (i.e., the method of studying all the concrete circumstances of an event and of its development). The unification of Germany was a necessity which Marx recognised as such both prior to and following 1848. As early as 1859, Engels called forthright upon the German people to fight for unification.[78] When unification through revolution failed, Bismarck achieved it in a counter-revolutionary, Junker fashion. Anti-Bismarckism became absurd as a *sole* principle, since the necessary unification was an accomplished fact. But what about Russia? Did our brave Plekhanov formerly have the courage to declare that Russia's development demanded the conquest of Galicia, Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, etc.? Has he the courage to say so now? Has he considered that Germany had to progress from the national disunity of the Germans (who had been oppressed both by France and Russia in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century) to a unified nation, whereas in Russia the Great Russians have crushed rather than united a number of other nations? Without giving thought to such things, Plekhanov has simply masked his chauvinism by distorting the meaning of the Engels quotation of 1870 in the same fashion as Südekum has distorted an 1891 quotation from Engels to the effect that the Germans must wage a life-and-death struggle against the allied armies of France and Russia.

In a different kind of language and in quite different circumstances, the selfsame chauvinism is defended by *Nasha Zarya* Nos. 7-8-9, wherein Mr. Cherevanin predicts and evokes

"the defeat of Germany", asserting that "Europe [!!] has risen up" against that country; Mr. A. Potresov berates the German Social-Democrats for their "blunder", which "is worse than any crime", etc., claiming that German militarism is guilty of "special, extraordinary sins", and that it is "not the Pan-Slavic dreams of certain Russian circles which have been a menace to European peace", etc.

When the legal press thus depicts Germany's "extraordinary" guilt and advocates the necessity of her defeat is it not echoing Purishkevich and the social-chauvinists? The pressure of the tsar's censors imposes silence about "extraordinary" sins a hundred times greater in number, committed by Russian militarism. Is it not obvious that, in a situation such as this, people who do not wish to be chauvinist should at least *refrain* from speaking of Germany's defeat and her extraordinary sins?

Nasha Zarya is not merely pursuing the line of "non-resistance to war"; it is doing much more—bringing grist to the mill of Great-Russian, tsarist-Purishkevich chauvinism by using "Social-Democratic" arguments for the preachment of Germany's defeat, and shielding the Pan-Slavists. It was none other than the *Nasha Zarya* writers who in 1912-14 conducted mass propaganda of liquidationism among the workers.

Finally, there is Axelrod, whom Martov is trying so angrily and so unsuccessfully to cover up, defend and shield in exactly the same way as he has been doing for the *Nasha Zarya* writers.

With Axelrod's consent, his views were set forth in Nos. 86 and 87 of *Golos*. These views are social-chauvinist. He used the following arguments to defend the French and Belgian socialists joining the bourgeois governments: (1) "To Marx, historical necessity, which is often inappropriately cited nowadays, did not mean a passive attitude towards a concrete evil—in expectation of the socialist revolution." What muddled reasoning! What has this got to do with it all? Everything that takes place in history takes place of necessity. That is elementary. The opponents of social-chauvinism have cited, not historical necessity but the *imperialist* nature of the war. Axelrod pretends that he does not understand this, or the consequent appraisal

of the "concrete evil", viz., bourgeois domination in all lands, and the *timeliness* of launching revolutionary action leading to a "social revolution". It is the social-chauvinists who are "passive" by denying this. (2) It is impossible "to ignore the question of who actually started" the war, "~hereby imposing upon all attacked countries the necessity of defending their independence". On the same page, however, Axelrod admits that "of course the French imperialists were out to provoke a war in two or three years' time"! During that period, he maintains, the proletariat would grow stronger, thereby enhancing the chances of peace! We know, however, that during that period, opportunism, which is so dear to Axelrod's heart, would grow stronger, thereby enhancing the chances of its even more shameful betrayal of socialism. We know that, for *decades*, three robbers (the bourgeoisie and the governments of Britain, Russia and France) were arming to pillage Germany. Is there anything surprising that two robbers began the attack before the other *three* got the new knives they had ordered? Is it not a sophism for phrases about "who started the war" to be used to gloss over the *equal* "*guilt*" of the bourgeoisie of all countries, which was unanimously recognised without question by all socialists at Basle? (3) "To blame the Belgian socialists for defending their country" is "not Marxism, but cynicism". This was exactly how Marx termed Proudhon's attitude towards the Polish uprising (of 1863).[79] Beginning with 1848, Marx constantly stressed the historical progressiveness of the Polish uprising against tsarism. That was something no one dared deny. The concrete conditions consisted in an unresolved national problem in the east of Europe, i.e., in a bourgeois-democratic, not imperialist, nature of the war against tsarism. That is elementary.

If one's attitude towards the socialist revolution is negative, scoffing or negligent (like that of the Axelrods), then one *cannot* help the Belgian "country" in the present and concrete war otherwise than by helping tsarism to throttle the Ukraine. That is a fact, which it is cynical for a Russian socialist to evade. It is just as cynical to raise a clamour over Belgium while remaining silent about Galicia.

What ought the Belgian socialists to have done? Since they were unable to accomplish a social revolution together with the French, etc., they had to submit to the majority of the nation at the time, and go to war. But, while submitting to the will of the slave-owning class, they should have placed the responsibility on the latter, and not have voted for war credits; they should have sent Vandervelde, not to engage in ministerial missions to the exploiters, but to organise (together with the revolutionary Social-Democrats of *all* countries) illegal revolutionary propaganda in favour of the "socialist revolution" and civil war; in the army too such work should have been conducted (experience having shown that even "fraternisation" between workingmen clad in uniforms is possible in the trenches of the fighting armies!). Prattling about dialectics and Marxism while revealing inability to combine the temporary need to submit to the majority with revolutionary work under all conditions means scoffing at the workers and jeering at socialism. "Citizens of Belgium! Our country has met with a great calamity brought about by the bourgeoisie of *all* countries, including Belgium. You do not wish to overthrow that bourgeoisie? You do not believe in an appeal to the socialists of Germany? We are in the minority; so I must submit to you and go to war, but even then I shall call and prepare for civil war by the proletariat of all countries, because there is no other salvation for the peasants and workers of Belgium and other countries!" For a speech like this, a Belgian or French deputy would have been sent to prison, not given the post of minister, but he would have been a socialist, not a traitor; in the trenches, both the French and German workingmen in military uniforms would have spoken of him as their *own* leader, not as a traitor to the working class. (4) "While fatherlands exist, while, as at present, the proletariat's life and its movement are compressed into the framework of the fatherlands, and while the proletariat does not feel another and international soil under its feet, the question of patriotism and self-defence will continue to exist for the working class." Bourgeois fatherlands will exist until they are destroyed by the international revolution of the proletariat. The existence of conditions suitable for a revolution was recognised even by Kautsky

as early as 1909; just as it was unanimously recognised later by the Basle Congress, and is now proved by the *fact* of the deep sympathy on the part of the workers of all countries for those who do not vote for war credits, and are not afraid of prison and the other sacrifices connected with any revolution, by virtue of "historical necessity". Axelrod's phrase is nothing but a *pretext* to avoid revolutionary activity, merely a repetition of the arguments used by the chauvinist bourgeoisie. (5) The same is true about his assertions that the conduct of the Germans was *not* treachery, and that their behaviour was dictated by "a keen sentiment, the consciousness of an organic bond with that piece of land, the fatherland, on which the German proletarians live and work". In reality, the behaviour of the Germans, as well as that of Guesde and the rest, is undoubtedly treachery; to mask and to shield it is a disgrace. In reality, it is the bourgeois fatherlands that mutilate, cripple, crush and destroy the "living bond" between the German workers and the German land by creating a "bond" between the slave and the slave-owner. In reality, *only* the destruction of the bourgeois fatherlands can give the workers of all countries a "bond with the land", freedom of their own language, bread, and the benefits of civilisation. Axelrod is simply an apologist for the bourgeoisie. (6) To persuade the workers to be "cautious in accusing of opportunism" such "tested Marxists as Guesde", etc., means to induce the workers to be servile towards their leaders. We would advise the worker to learn from the example of Guesde's whole life, with the *exception* of his patent betrayal of socialism in 1914. Private and other circumstances may be found that mitigate his guilt, but this is not a question of the guilt of *individuals*; what we are interested in is the socialist significance of *events*. (7) To refer to the "*formal*" permissibility of joining government on the ground that there exists some minute point somewhere in a resolution, mentioning "exceptionally important cases", is tantamount to the most dishonest pettifogging, since this minor point was obviously intended to *aid* the international revolution of the proletariat, not to *counteract* it. (8) Axelrod's assertion that "the defeat of Russia, while unable to hamper the organic development of the country, would

help liquidate the old regime", is true if taken by itself, but when it is used to justify the German chauvinists, it is nothing but an attempt to *curry favour* with the Südekums. Recognition of the usefulness of Russia's defeat, without openly accusing the German and Austrian Social-Democrats of having betrayed socialism means *in reality* helping them justify themselves, wriggle out of a difficult situation, and deceive the workers. Axelrod's article is a double obeisance—one to the German social-chauvinists, the other to the French. Taken together, these obeisances constitute typical "Russo-Bundist" social-chauvinism.

Let the readers now judge for themselves the consistency displayed by the *Golos* editors who, in publishing these most disgraceful arguments of Axelrod's, have expressed their disagreement only with "some of his ideas" while in the editorial of No. 96 of their paper, they advocate a "sharp rupture with the elements of active social-patriotism". Are the editors of *Golos* so naïve or so inattentive that they do not see the truth? Do they not see that Axelrod's reasonings are, *from beginning to end*, "elements of active [his writings being the writer's activity] social-patriotism"? And what about the *Nasha Zarya* writers: Messrs. Cherevanin, A. Potresov and Co.; are they not elements of active social-patriotism?

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 37,
February 1, 1915

Published according to
the text in *Sotsial-Demokrat*

TO THE EDITORS OF *NASHE SLOVO*[80]

Berne, 9.2.1915

Dear Comrades:

In your letter of February 6 you proposed to us a plan of struggle against "official social-patriotism", in connection with the proposed London conference of socialists of the "allied countries" of the Triple Entente.[81] As you have, of course, seen from our newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, we support that struggle in general, and are conducting it. That is why we are very glad to have received your message, and accept with pleasure your proposal for a discussion of a plan of joint action.

The conference, which is said to have been planned for February 15 (we have not yet received a single document regarding it), will perhaps be postponed until February 25 or later [judging from a letter from Huysmans, who wrote of the sitting of the Executive Commission for February 20 and of the plan for personal talks between members (the Secretary) of the Executive Commission and socialists of France, Britain and Russia]. The conference may possibly be contemplated as one, not of official members of the International Socialist Bureau, but as *private* meetings between individual "prominent" socialists.

That is why the contraposition to "official social-patriotism" of a "clear, revolutionary and internationalist" point of view, a contraposition which you write of and which has our full sympathy, should be prepared *for all possible contingencies* (both for a conference of the official representatives of parties and for a private meeting in all its forms, both for February 15 and for any later date).

For our part and in view of the desire you have expressed, we propose the following draft declaration which contains such a contraposition (so that the declaration may be read and printed):

"The undersigned representatives of the Social-Democratic organisations of Russia (Britain, etc.) proceed from the conviction:

"that the present war is, on the part, not only of Germany and Austro-Hungary, but of Britain and France (acting in alliance with tsarism), an imperialist war, i.e., a war of the epoch of the final stage in the development of capitalism, an epoch in which bourgeois states, with their national boundaries, have outlived themselves; a war aimed exclusively at the grabbing of colonies, the plundering of rival countries, and the weakening of the proletarian movement by setting the proletarians of one country against those of another.

"Consequently it is the absolute duty of the socialists of all belligerent countries immediately and resolutely to carry out the Basle resolution, viz.:

"(1) the break-up of all national blocs and the *Burgfrieden** in all countries;

"(2) a call to the workers of all the belligerent countries to wage an energetic class struggle, both economic and political, against the bourgeoisie of their country, a bourgeoisie that is amassing unparalleled profits from war deliveries and makes use of the military authorities' backing so as to gag the workers and intensify oppression of the latter;

"(3) decisive condemnation of any voting for war credits;

"(4) withdrawal from the bourgeois governments of Belgium and France, and recognition that entry into governments and voting for war credits are the same kind of treachery to the cause of socialism as is the entire behaviour of the German and Austrian Social-Democrats;

"(5) that the hand be stretched out to internationalist elements in German Social-Democracy that refuse to vote for war credits, and that an international committee be set up, together with them, for the conduct of agitation for the cessation of the war, not in the spirit of the paci-

* class truce.—*Ed.*

fists, the Christians, and the petty-bourgeois democrats, but in inseparable connection with the propaganda and organisation of mass revolutionary action by the proletarians of each country, against the governments and the bourgeoisie of that country;

"(6) support for any attempts by the socialists of the belligerent countries to bring about contacts and fraternisation in the fighting forces and the trenches, despite the bans imposed by the military authorities of Britain, Germany, etc.;

"(7) a call to women socialists of the belligerent countries to intensify agitation in the direction indicated above;

"(8) a call for support by the entire world proletariat of the struggle against tsarism, and for support for those Social-Democrats of Russia who have not only refused to vote for credits, but have shown disregard of the danger of persecution and are conducting socialist work in the spirit of internationalist and revolutionary Social-Democracy."

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As for certain Social-Democratic men of letters in Russia who have come out in defence of the official social-patriotism (as, for instance, Plekhanov, Alexinsky, Maslov, and others), the undersigned disclaim all responsibility for any action or statements by them, energetically protest against the latter, and declare that, according to all available information, the Social-Democratic workers of Russia do not hold that point of view.

It goes without saying that Comrade Litvinov, our Central Committee's official representative in the International Socialist Bureau (his address*: We are sending him your letter and a copy of our reply to you. Please address him directly on all urgent matters), as he has been authorised to use his own judgement in the matter of all particular amendments, special steps in negotiations, etc.; we can merely state our *complete* solidarity with this comrade on *all* essential points.

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* M. M. Litvinov's address is not given in the MS.—*Ed.*

As for the Organising Committee and the Bund, who are both represented in the International Socialist Bureau, we have grounds for apprehension that they stand *for* "official social-patriotism" (in its Francophile or Germanophile form, or in any other that would reconcile these two tendencies). At any rate we would appreciate your kindness in sending us both your reply (your amendments, your counter-draft of the resolution, etc.) and the reply of those organisations (the Organising Committee, the Bund, etc.) that you have already addressed or intend doing so.

With comradely greetings,

My address is:* *Lenin*

First published in 1931
in *Lenin Miscellany XVII*

Published according to
the manuscript

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* No address is given in the MS.—*Ed.*

HOW THE POLICE AND THE REACTIONARIES PROTECT THE UNITY OF GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

In its issue of January 9, the German Social-Democratic *Gothaer Volksblatt* published an article entitled, "Police Protection for the Policy of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Group".

"The first two days of the operation of the censorship," says the paper, which has been placed under the gratifying guardianship of the military authorities, "show with full clarity that the central authorities are particularly anxious to gag the undesirable critics of the policy of the Social-Democratic group within our own ranks. The censorship is designed to preserve 'party peace' within the ranks of the Social-Democrats, in other words, to preserve a 'united', 'cemented' and powerful German Social-Democratic Party. Social-Democracy under governmental tutelage—such is the most important event in the internal policies of our 'great' time, of the era of the rebirth of the German nation.

"Several weeks have passed since the politicians who make up our Social-Democratic parliamentary group began an energetic propaganda campaign of their views. They have come up against strong opposition in several very large party centres. Their propaganda has put the workers in a frame of mind unfavourable rather than favourable to those who vote for war credits, which is why the military authorities have sought to help the latter now by means of the censorship, now by abolishing freedom of assembly. With us in Gotha, this help is coming from the military censor, in Hamburg, from the ban on meetings."

In quoting these words, the Swiss Social-Democratic paper, which is published in Berne, adds that a number of Social-Democratic papers in Germany have been placed under censorship, and continues with the comment: "Very soon there will be nothing to disturb the unanimity of the German press. If anybody attempts to affect it, the military dictatorship will firmly and rapidly put an end to that, acting on information supplied directly or indirectly by 'Social-Democrats' that stand for party peace".

The opportunist Social-Democratic papers do indeed, directly or indirectly, pass on information about the radical press!

Consequently, the facts go to show that we were perfectly right in writing in No. 36 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*: "The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution.... In times of crisis they *immediately* prove to be open allies of the *entire* united bourgeoisie."* As a slogan of the Social-Democratic Party, unity today means unity with the opportunists and submission to them (or to their bloc with the bourgeoisie). This is a slogan which *in actual fact* aids the police and the reactionaries, and is disastrous to the labour movement.

We might, incidentally, mention the appearance of a splendid pamphlet by Borchardt (in German) entitled *Vor und nach dem 4. August 1914*,[82] with the sub-title, *Hat die deutsche Sozialdemokratie abgedankt?* Indeed, it has repudiated itself, says the author, revealing the glaring contrast between party declarations *prior to* August 4 and the policies of "August 4". We shall stop at no sacrifice in the war against war, the Social-Democrats of Germany (and other countries) said prior to August 4, 1914, whereas, on September 28, 1914, Otto Braun, member of the Central Committee, made reference to the 20 millions of marks invested in legal papers, and their 11,000 employees. The tens of thousands of leaders, officials and privileged workers, who have been demoralised by legalism, have disorganised the million-strong army of the Social-Democratic proletariat.

The lesson to be derived is as clear as clear can be: a decisive break with chauvinism and opportunism. Yet,

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* See p. 110 of this volume.—*Ed.*

vapid Social-Revolutionary babblers (J. Gardenin[83] and Co.) have, in the vapid Paris *Mysl*, repudiated Marxism, in favour of petty-bourgeois ideas! Forgotten are the elementary truths provided by political economy, and the world-wide development of capitalism, which produces only one revolutionary class—the proletariat. Forgotten are Chartism, June 1848, the Paris Commune, and October and December, 1905. The workers can advance towards their world-wide revolution only through a series of defeats and errors, failures and weaknesses, but they are advancing towards it. One must be blind not to see bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the proletariat as the main and fundamental cause of the International's disgrace and collapse in 1914. However, windbags like Gardenin and Co. would apply a remedy to socialism by completely repudiating its only socio-historical foundation—the class struggle of the proletariat—and by diluting Marxism with philistine and intellectualist-Narodnik verbiage. The call is not for strenuous work towards a rupture between the proletarian revolutionary movement and opportunism, but for unification of this movement with the opportunists of the Ropshin[84] and Chernov type, who were bomb-throwing liberals the day before yesterday, renegades in the toga of liberals yesterday, and today delight in saccharine bourgeois phrases about the "labour" principle! The Gardenins are no better than the Südekums and the Socialist-Revolutionaries no better than the liquidators. This is why they all meet so lovingly in *Sovremennik*,[85] a journal that advocates a programme of a merger between the Social-Democrats and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

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March 3, 1915

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THE LONDON CONFERENCE

Below we quote, with abbreviations, a letter from the R.S.D.L.P. representative:

"London, Feb. 14, 1915.

"It was only last night that I received from the secretary of the British section of the International the address of the Conference, this in reply to my letter, in which I informed him of my address, without asking for an invitation. I decided to go there so as to try to read the declaration. Present were: from the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Rubanovich (from the social-chauvinists), Chernov and Bobrov from *Mysl*; Maisky from the Organising Committee, he being delegated together with Martov, who failed to appear, as he had received no pass. There were eleven delegates from Britain (Keir Hardie as Chairman, MacDonald and others); sixteen from France (Sembat, Vaillant and others); three from Belgium (Vandervelde and others).

"The Chairman opened the Conference by declaring that its aim was to exchange opinions, not to adopt resolutions. A French delegate proposed an amendment, asking why a resolution should not be passed registering the opinion of the *majority*. This was accepted without discussion.

"The agenda: (1) the rights of nations—Belgium and Poland; (2) colonies; (3) guarantees of peace. A Credentials Committee was elected (Rubanovich and others). It was decided that one representative from each country should make a brief report on the attitude to the war.

"I took the floor and protested against the failure to invite our Party's official representative in the International Socialist Bureau [Comrade Maximovich,[86] who has for over a year been a member of the I. S. Bureau as representa-

tive of our Party, and is permanently resident in London]. The Chairman interrupted me, referring to the invitation of all 'whose names are known'. I once more protested against the failure to inform the genuine representatives. Then I referred to our Manifesto [see *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy"*], which shows our over-all attitude towards the war, and has been *sent* to the I. S. Bureau. Prior to speaking of the conditions of peace, I said, it was necessary to establish the means by which we would endeavour to achieve peace; with that end, the existence of a general revolutionary Social-Democratic basis should be ascertained, and also whether we were conferring as chauvinists, as pacifists, or as Social-Democrats. I was reading our declaration, but the Chairman interrupted me, declaring that my standing as a delegate had not yet been established [!] and that they had gathered, 'not for criticism of various parties' [!]. I stated that I would continue my speech after the report of the Credentials Committee. [The text of the declaration we were not allowed to read appears in the next issue.]

"Brief statements on the general situation were made by Vaillant, Vandervelde, MacDonald, and Rubanovich. Then, following the report of the Credentials Committee, Maisky was asked to himself decide whether he could alone represent the Organising Committee, and I was 'permitted' to attend. I thanked the Conference for their 'courtesy' and was about to continue reading out the declaration so as to ascertain whether I could remain. The Chairman interrupted me, saying he would not allow me to present 'conditions' to the Conference. Then I asked for permission to say why I would *not* take part in the Conference. This was rejected. I then asked for permission to state that the R.S.D.L.P. was not taking part in the Conference. As for the reasons, I was leaving a written statement with the Chairman. I gathered my papers and left....

"The Chairman was given a statement from the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Lettish Social-Democrats [Berzin] to the effect that he fully agreed with our declaration."

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* See pp. 25-34 of this volume.—*Ed.*

The delegates to the Conference were not allowed to give any information to the press. This, of course, did not apply to Comrade Maximovich's leaving the Conference, and the *Labour Leader*,[87] in which Keir Hardie collaborates, made some general comments on Maximovich's having left the Conference and on his point of view.

Owing to lack of space, we shall have to deal with the London Conference and its resolutions in our next issue. We shall however note the utter uselessness of its resolutions, which merely cover up social-chauvinism.

The following is the set-up of the Russian representation: the Central Committee and the Lettish Social-Democrats are resolutely and clearly opposed to social-chauvinism. The liquidators' Organising Committee either stay away or else get in the way. As for the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the "party" (Rubanovich) is *for* social-chauvinism, while *Mysl* (Bobrov and Chernov) form the opposition, which we shall give an appraisal of when we learn the kind of statement they have made.

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UNDER A FALSE FLAG[88]

Written not earlier than
February 1915

First published in 1917,
in the first *Collection*
of the *Priliv* Publishers, Moscow

Signed: *N. Konstantinov*

Published according to
the text in the *Collection*

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Written not earlier than
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First published in 1917,
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Issue No. 1 of *Nashe Dyelo* (Petrograd, January 1915)[89] published a highly characteristic programmatic article by Mr. A. Potresov, entitled "At the Juncture of Two Epochs". Like an earlier magazine article by the same author, the present article sets forth the ideas underlying an entire bourgeois trend of public thought in Russia—the liquidationist—regarding the important and burning problems of the times. Strictly speaking, we have before us not articles but the manifesto of a definite trend, and anyone who reads them carefully and gives thought to their content will see that only fortuitous considerations, i.e., such that have nothing in common with purely literary interests, have prevented the author's ideas (and those of his friends, since the author does not stand alone) from being expressed in the more appropriate form of a declaration or credo.

Potresov's main idea is that present-day democracy stands at the juncture of two epochs, the fundamental difference between the old epoch and the new consisting in a transition from national isolation to internationalism. By present-day democracy, Potresov understands the kind that marked the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, as distinct from the old bourgeois democracy that marked the end of the eighteenth century and the first two-thirds of the nineteenth.

At first glance it may seem that the author's idea is absolutely correct, that we have before us an opponent to the national-liberal tendency predominant in present-day democracy, and that the author is an "internationalist", not a national-liberal.

Indeed, this defence of internationalism, this reference to national narrow-mindedness and national exclusiveness as features of an outworn and bygone epoch—is it not a breakaway from the wave of national-liberalism, that bane

of present-day democracy or, rather, of its official representatives?

That, at first glance, is not only the possible but the almost inevitable impression. Yet it would be a gross error to think so. The author is transporting his cargo under a false flag. Consciously or otherwise—that does not matter in this instance—he has resorted to a stratagem by hoisting the flag of "internationalism" so as the more securely to transport under this flag his contraband cargo of national-liberalism. After all, Potresov is a most undeniable national-liberal. The gist of his article (and of his programme, platform, and credo) is in the employment of this little—and if you wish even innocent—stratagem, in carrying opportunism under the flag of internationalism. One must go into all the details of this manoeuvre, for the matter is of prime and tremendous importance. Potresov's use of a false flag is the more dangerous since he not only cloaks himself with the principle of "internationalism" but also assumes the title of an adherent of "Marxist methodology". In other words, Potresov pretends to be a true follower and exponent of Marxism, whereas in actual fact he substitutes national-liberalism for Marxism. Potresov tries to "amend" Kautsky, accusing him of "playing the advocate", i.e., of defending liberalism now of one shade, now of another, that is to say, the liberalism of shades peculiar to various nations. Potresov is out to contrast national-liberalism (for it is absolutely indubitable and indisputable that Kautsky has become a national-liberal) with internationalism and Marxism. In reality, Potresov is contrasting *particoloured* national-liberalism with national-liberalism of a *single* colour, whereas Marxism is hostile—and in the present historical situation, absolutely hostile—to any kind of national-liberalism.

We shall now go on to show that such is the case, and why.

I

The highlight of Potresov's misadventures, which led to his setting out under a national-liberal flag, can be best understood if the reader examines the following passage in his article:

"With their characteristic temperament, they [Marx and his comrades] attacked the problem, no matter how difficult it was; they diagnosed the conflict, and attempted to determine *the success of which side* opened up broader vistas for possibilities desirable from their point of view; thus they laid down a certain basis on which to build their tactics" (p. 73, our italics in excerpts).

"The success of which side is more desirable"—this is what has to be determined, and that from an international, not a national point of view. This is the essence of the Marxist methodology. This is what Kautsky does not do, thus turning from a "judge" (a Marxist) into an "advocate" (a national-liberal). Such is Potresov's line of argument. Potresov himself is most deeply convinced that he is not "playing the advocate" when he defends the desirability of success for one side (namely, his own) and that, conversely, he is guided by truly international considerations with regard to the egregious sins of the other side.

Potresov, Maslov, Plekhanov, etc., who are all guided by truly international considerations, have reached the same conclusions as Potresov has. This is a simple-mindedness that borders on—well, we shall not make undue haste, but shall first complete an analysis of the purely theoretical question.

"The success of which side is more desirable" was established by Marx in the Italian war of 1859, for instance. Potresov dwells on this particular instance, which, he says, "has a special interest for us because of certain of its features". We too, for our part, are willing to take the instance chosen by Potresov.

In 1859 Napoleon III declared war on Austria, allegedly for the liberation of Italy, but in reality for his own dynastic aims.

"Behind the back of Napoleon III," says Potresov, "could be discerned the figure of Gorchakov, who had just signed a secret agreement with the Emperor of the French." What we have here is a tangle of contradictions: on the one side, the most reactionary European monarchy, which has been oppressing Italy; on the other, the representatives of revolutionary Italy, including Garibaldi, fighting for her liberation, side by side with the ultra-reactionary Napoleon III, etc.

"Would it not have been simpler," Potresov writes, "to step aside and to say that the two are equally bad? However, neither Engels, Marx, nor Lassalle were attracted by the 'simplicity' of such a solution, but started to search the problem [Potresov means to say, to study and explore the problem], of the particular outcome of the conflict which might provide the greatest opportunities for a cause dear to all three."

Lassalle notwithstanding, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that Prussia must intervene. Among their considerations, as Potresov himself admits, was that "of the possibility, as a result of a conflict with the enemy coalition, of a national movement in Germany, which might develop over the heads of its numerous rulers; there was also the consideration as to which Power in the Concert of Europe was the main evil: the reactionary Danubian monarchy, or other outstanding representatives of this Concert".

"To us, it is not important who was right, Marx or Lassalle," Potresov concludes; "what is important is that all were agreed on the necessity of determining, from an international point of view, the success of which side was more desirable."

This is the instance cited by Potresov, and the way our author pursues the argument. If Marx was then able "to appraise international conflicts" (Potresov's expression), notwithstanding the highly reactionary character of the governments of *both* belligerent sides, then Marxists too are at present obliged to make a *similar* appraisal, Potresov concludes.

This conclusion is either naïve childishness or crass sophistry, since it boils down to the following: since, in 1859, Marx was working on the problem of the desirability of success for which particular bourgeoisie, we, over half a century later, must solve the problem in exactly the same way.

Potresov *has failed to notice* that, to Marx in 1859 (as well as in a number of later cases), the question of "the success of which side is more desirable" meant asking "the success of which *bourgeoisie* is more desirable". Potresov *has failed to notice* that Marx was working on the problem at a time when there existed indubitably *progressive bourgeois* movements, which moreover did not merely exist, but were

in the forefront of the historical process in the leading states of Europe. Today, it would be ridiculous even to imagine a progressive bourgeoisie, a progressive bourgeois movement, in, for instance, such key members of the "Concert" of Europe, as Britain and Germany. The old bourgeois "democracy" of these two key states has turned reactionary. Potresov has "forgotten" this, and has substituted the standpoint of the *old* (bourgeois) so-called democracy for that of *present-day* (non-bourgeois) democracy. This shift to the standpoint of another class, and moreover of an old and outmoded class, is sheer opportunism. There cannot be the least doubt that a shift like this cannot be justified by an analysis of the objective content of the historical process in the old and the new epochs.

It is the bourgeoisie—for instance in Germany, and in Britain too, for that matter—that endeavours to effect the kind of substitution accomplished by Potresov, viz., replacing of the imperialist epoch by that of bourgeois-progressive, national and democratic movements for liberation. Potresov is uncritically following in the wake of the bourgeoisie. This is the more unpardonable, since, in the instance he has selected, Potresov has himself been obliged to recognise and specify the considerations guiding Marx, Engels, and Lassalle in those bygone days.*

First of all, these were considerations on the *national* movement (in Germany and Italy)—on the latter's development over the heads of the "representatives of medievalism"; secondly, these were considerations on the "main evil" of

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* Incidentally Potresov refuses to make up his mind as to whether Marx or Lassalle was right in appraising the conditions of the war of 1859. We think that (Mehring notwithstanding) Marx was right, whereas Lassalle was then an opportunist, just as he was during his flirtation with Bismarck. Lassalle was adapting himself to the victory of Prussia and Bismarck, to the lack of sufficient strength in the democratic national movements of Italy and Germany. Thus Lassalle deviated towards a national-liberal labour policy, whereas Marx encouraged and developed an independent, consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice (Prussia's intervention in 1859 against Napoleon would have stimulated the popular movement in Germany). Lassalle was casting glances, not downwards but upwards, as he was fascinated by Bismarck. Bismarck's "success" was no justification of Lassalle's opportunism.

the reactionary monarchies (the Austrian, the Napoleonic, etc.) in the Concert of Europe.

These considerations are perfectly clear and indisputable. Marxists have never denied the progressiveness of bourgeois national-liberation movements against feudal and absolutist forces. Potresov cannot but know that *nothing like this* does or can exist in the major, i.e., the leading rival states of today. In those days there existed, both in Italy and in Germany, popular national-liberation movements with *decades* of struggle behind them. In those days the Western bourgeoisie did not give financial support to certain other states; on the contrary, those states were *really* "the main evil". Potresov cannot but know—as he admits in the same article—that today *none* of the other states is or can be the "main evil".

The bourgeoisie (in Germany, for instance, though not in that country alone) is, for selfish reasons, encouraging the ideology of national movements, attempting to translate that ideology into the epoch of imperialism, i.e., an entirely different epoch. As usual, the opportunists are plodding along in the rear of the bourgeoisie, *abandoning* the standpoint of *present-day* democracy and shifting over to that of the *old* (bourgeois) democracy. That is the chief shortcoming in all the articles, as well as in the entire position and the entire line of Potresov and his liquidationist fellow-thinkers. At the time of the *old* (bourgeois) democracy Marx and Engels were working on the problem of the desirability of success for which particular bourgeoisie; they were concerned with a modestly liberal movement developing into a tempestuously democratic one. In the period of *present-day* (non-bourgeois) democracy, Potresov is preaching bourgeois national-liberalism at a time when one cannot even imagine bourgeois progressive movements, whether modestly liberal or tempestuously democratic, in Britain, Germany, or France. Marx and Engels were *ahead* of *their* epoch, that of bourgeois-national progressive movements; they wanted to give an impetus to *such* movements so that they might develop "over the heads" of the representatives of medievalism.

Like all social-chauvinists, Potresov is moving backwards, away from his *own* period, that of present-day democ-

racy, and skipping over to the outworn, dead, and therefore intrinsically false viewpoint of the old (bourgeois) democracy.

That is why Potresov's following appeal to democracy reveals his muddled thinking and is highly reactionary:

"Do not retreat, but advance, not towards individualism, but towards internationalist consciousness in all its integrity and all its vigour. To advance means, in a certain sense, to go also back—back to Engels, Marx, and Lassalle, to their method of appraising international conflicts, and to their finding it possible to utilise inter-state relations for democratic purposes."

Potresov drags present-day democracy *backwards*, not "in a certain sense" but in all senses; he drags it back to the slogans and the ideology of the old bourgeois democracy, to the dependence of the masses upon the bourgeoisie.... Marx's method consists, first of all, in taking due account of the *objective* content of a historical process at a given moment, in definite and concrete conditions; this in order to realise, in the first place, the movement of *which* class is the mainspring of the progress possible in those concrete conditions. In 1859, it was not imperialism that comprised the objective content of the historical process in continental Europe, but national-bourgeois movements for liberation. The mainspring was the movement of the bourgeoisie against the feudal and absolutist forces. Fifty-five years later, when the place of the old and reactionary feudal lords has been taken by the not unsimilar finance capital tycoons of the decrepit bourgeoisie, the knowledgeable Potresov is out to appraise international conflicts from the standpoint of the *bourgeoisie*, *not of the new class*.*

Potresov has not given proper thought to the significance of the truth he uttered in the above words. Let us suppose that two countries are at war in the epoch of bourgeois, national-liberation movements. Which country should we wish success to from the standpoint of present-day

* "Indeed," Potresov writes, "it was during that period of seeming stagnation that tremendous molecular processes were taking place in every country; the international situation too was gradually changing, the policy of colonial acquisitions, of militant imperialism becoming its *determining* feature."

democracy? Obviously, to that country whose success will give a greater impetus to the bourgeoisie's liberation movement, make its development more speedy, and undermine feudalism the more decisively. Let us further suppose that the *determining* feature of the objective historical situation has changed, and that the place of capital striving for national liberation has been taken by international, reactionary and imperialist finance capital. The former country, let us say, possesses three-fourths of Africa, whereas the latter possesses one-fourth. A repartition of Africa is the objective content of their war. To which side should we wish success? It would be absurd to state the problem in its previous form, since we do not possess the old criteria of appraisal: there is neither a bourgeois liberation movement running into decades, nor a long process of the decay of feudalism. It is not the business of present-day democracy either to help the former country to assert its "right" to three-fourths of Africa, or to help the latter country (even if it is developing economically more rapidly than the former) to take over those three-fourths.

Present-day democracy will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country. Any other decision will, in reality, be national-liberal and have nothing in common with genuine internationalism.

The reader should not let himself be deceived by the pretentious terminology Potresov employs to conceal his switch over to the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. When Potresov exclaims: "...not towards individualism, but towards internationalist consciousness in all its integrity and all its vigour", his aim is to contrast his own point of view with that of Kautsky. He calls the latter's view (and that of others like him) "individualism", because of Kautsky's refusal to decide "the success of which side is more desirable", and his justification of the workers' national-liberalism in each "individual" country. We, on the contrary, he, as it were, says, we—Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov,

Plekhanov, and others—appeal to "internationalist consciousness in all its integrity and all its vigour", for we stand for national-liberalism of a definite shade, in no way from the standpoint of an individual state (or an individual nation) but from a standpoint that is genuinely internationalist. This line of reasoning would be ridiculous if it were not so—disgraceful.

Both Potresov and Co. and Kautsky, who have betrayed the standpoint of the class which they are trying hard to represent, are following in the wake of the bourgeoisie.

II

Potresov has entitled his article "At the Juncture of Two Epochs". We are undoubtedly living at the juncture of two epochs, and the historic events that are unfolding before our eyes can be understood only if we analyse, in the first place, the objective conditions of the transition from one epoch to the other. Here we have important historical epochs; in each of them there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward now backward; there are and will always be various deviations from the average type and mean tempo of the movement. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc. Only on that basis, i.e., by taking into account, in the first place, the fundamental distinctive features of the various "epochs" (and not single episodes in the history of individual countries), can we correctly evolve our tactics; only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundation for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another.

It is to this region that both Potresov's and Kautsky's main sophism, or their fundamental historical error, pertains (Kautsky's article was published in the same issue of *Nashe Dyelo*), an error which has led both of them to national-liberal, not Marxist, conclusions.

The trouble is that the instance chosen by Potresov, which has presented a "special interest" to him, namely, the instance of the Italian campaign of 1859, as well as a number of *similar* historical instances quoted by Kautsky, "*in no way pertain to those* historical epochs", "at the juncture" of which we are living. Let us call the epoch we are entering (or have entered, and which is in its initial stage) the present-day (or third) epoch. Let us call that which we have just emerged from the epoch of yesterday (or the second). In that case we shall have to call the epoch from which Potresov and Kautsky cite their instances, the day-before-yesterday (or first) epoch. Both Potresov's and Kautsky's revolting sophistry, the intolerable falseness of their arguments, consist in their substituting for the conditions of the present-day (or third) epoch the conditions of the day-before-yesterday (or first) epoch.

I shall try to explain what I mean.

The usual division into historical epochs, so often cited in Marxist literature and so many times repeated by Kautsky and adopted in Potresov's article, is the following: (1) 1789-1871; (2) 1871-1914; (3) 1914—? Here, of course, as everywhere in Nature and society, the lines of division are conventional and variable, relative, not absolute. We take the most outstanding and striking historical events only approximately, as milestones in important historical movements. The first epoch from the Great French Revolution to the Franco-Prussian war is one of the rise of the bourgeoisie, of its triumph, of the bourgeoisie on the upgrade, an epoch of bourgeois-democratic movements in general and of bourgeois-national movements in particular, an epoch of the rapid breakdown of the obsolete feudal-absolutist institutions. The second epoch is that of the full domination and decline of the bourgeoisie, one of transition from its progressive character towards reactionary and even ultra-reactionary finance capital. This is an epoch in which a new class—present-day democracy—is preparing and slowly mustering its forces. The third epoch, which has just set in, places the bourgeoisie in the same "position" as that in which the feudal lords found themselves during the first epoch. This is the epoch of imperialism and imperialist upheavals, as well as of upheavals stemming from the nature of imperialism.

It was none other than Kautsky who, in a series of articles and in his pamphlet *Der Weg zur Macht* (which appeared in 1909), outlined with full clarity the basic features of the third epoch that has set in, and who noted the fundamental differences between this epoch and the second (that of yesterday), and recognised the change in the immediate tasks as well as in the conditions and forms of struggle of present-day democracy, a change stemming from the changed objective historical conditions. Kautsky is now burning that which he worshipped yesterday; his change of front is most incredible, most unbecoming and most shameless. In the above-mentioned pamphlet, he spoke forthrightly of symptoms of an approaching war, and specifically of the kind of war that became a fact in 1914. It would suffice simply to place side by side for comparison a number of passages from that pamphlet and from his present writings to show convincingly how Kautsky has betrayed his own convictions and solemn declarations. In this respect Kautsky is not an individual instance (or even a German instance); he is a typical representative of the entire upper crust of present-day democracy, which, at a moment of crisis, has deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie.

All the historical instances quoted by Potresov and Kautsky belong to the first epoch. The main objective content of the historical wartime phenomena, not only of 1855, 1859, 1864, 1866, or 1870, but also of 1877 (the Russo-Turkish war) and 1896-1897 (the wars between Turkey and Greece and the Armenian disturbances) were bourgeois-national movements or "convulsions" in a, bourgeois society ridding itself of every kind of feudalism. At that time there could have been no possibility of really independent action by present-day democracy, action of the kind befitting the epoch of the over-maturity, and decay of the bourgeoisie, in a number of leading countries. The bourgeoisie was then the chief class, which was on the upgrade as a result of its participation in those wars; it alone could come out with overwhelming force against the feudal-absolutist institutions. Represented by various strata of *propertied* producers of commodities, this bourgeoisie was progressive in various degrees in the different countries,

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

sometimes (like part of the Italian bourgeoisie in 1859) being even revolutionary. The general feature of the epoch, however, was the progressiveness of the bourgeoisie, i.e., its unresolved and uncompleted struggle against feudalism. It was perfectly natural for the elements of present-day democracy, and for Marx as their representative, to have been guided at the time by the unquestionable principle of support for the progressive bourgeoisie (i.e., capable of waging a struggle) against feudalism, and for them to be dealing with the problem as to "the success of which side", i.e., of *which* bourgeoisie, was more desirable. The popular movement in the principal countries affected by the war was generally democratic at that time, i.e., bourgeois-democratic in its economic and class content. It is quite natural that *no other* question could have been posed at the time except the following: the success of *which* bourgeoisie, the success of which combination of forces, the failure of which reactionary forces (the feudal-absolutist forces which were hampering the rise of the bourgeoisie) promised contemporary democracy more "elbow room".

As even Potresov has had to admit, Marx was guided, in his "appraisal" of international conflicts springing from bourgeois national and liberation movements, by considerations as to whose success was more capable of contributing to the "development" (p. 74 of Potresov's article) of national and, in general, popular democratic movements. That means that, during military conflicts stemming from the bourgeoisie's rise to power within the various nationalities, Marx was, as in 1848, most of all concerned with extending the scope of the bourgeois-democratic movement and bringing it to a head through the participation of broader and more "plebeian" masses, the petty bourgeoisie in general, the peasantry in particular, and finally of the poor classes as a whole. This concern of Marx for the extension of the movement's social base and its development is the fundamental distinction between Marx's consistently democratic tactics and Lassalle's inconsistent tactics, which veered towards an alliance with the national-liberals.

The international conflicts in the third epoch have, in *form*, remained the same kind of international conflicts as those of the first epoch, but their social and class *content* has

changed radically. The objective historical situation has grown quite different.

The place of the struggle of a rising capital, striving towards national liberation from feudalism, has been taken by the struggle waged against the new forces by the most reactionary finance capital, the struggle of a force that has exhausted and outlived itself and is heading downward towards decay. The bourgeois-national state framework, which in the first epoch was the mainstay of the *development* of the productive forces of a humanity that was liberating itself from feudalism, has now, in the third epoch, become a *hindrance* to the further development of the productive forces. From a rising and progressive class the bourgeoisie has turned into a declining, decadent, and reactionary class. It is quite another class that is now on the upgrade on a broad historical scale.

Potresov and Kautsky have abandoned the standpoint of that class; they have turned back, repeating the false bourgeois assertion that *today too* the objective content of the historical process consists in the bourgeoisie's progressive movement against feudalism. In reality, there can now be no talk of *present-day* democracy following in the wake of the *reactionary* imperialist bourgeoisie, no matter of what "shade" the latter may be.

In the first epoch, the objective and historical task was to ascertain how, in its struggle against the *chief* representatives of a dying feudalism, the progressive bourgeoisie should "utilise" international conflicts so as to bring the greatest possible advantage to the entire democratic bourgeoisie of the world. In the first epoch, over half a century ago, it was natural and inevitable that the bourgeoisie, enslaved by feudalism, should wish the defeat of its "own" feudal oppressor, all the more so that the principal and central feudal strongholds of all-European importance were not so numerous at the time. This is how Marx "appraised" the conflicts: he ascertained in which country, in a given and concrete situation, the success of the bourgeois-liberation movement was more *important* in undermining the *all-European* feudal stronghold.

At present, in the third epoch, no feudal fortresses of all-European significance remain. Of course, it is the task of

present-day democracy to "utilise" conflicts, but—despite Potresov and Kautsky—this *international* utilisation must be directed, not against individual national finance capital, but against international finance capital. The utilisation should not be effected by a class which was on the ascendant fifty or a hundred years ago. At that time it was a question of "international action" (Potresov's expression) by the most advanced bourgeois democracy; today it is another class that is confronted by a similar task created by history and advanced by the objective state of affairs.

III

The second epoch or, as Potresov puts it, "a span of forty-five years" (1870-1914), is characterised very inconclusively by him. The same incompleteness is the shortcoming in Trotsky's characterisation of the same period, given in his German work, although he does not agree with Potresov's practical conclusions (this, of course, standing to the former's credit). Both writers hardly realise the reason for their standing so close to each other, in a certain sense.

Here is what Potresov writes of this epoch, which we have called the second, that of yesterday:

"A detailed restriction of work and the struggle and an all-pervading gradualism—these signs of the times, which by some have been elevated to a principle, have become to others an ordinary fact in their lives, and, as such, have become part of their mentality, a shade of their ideology" (p. 71). "Its [this epoch's] talent for a smooth and cautious advance had, as its reverse, firstly, a pronounced non-adaptability to any break in gradualness and to catastrophic phenomena of any kind and secondly, an exceptional isolation within the sphere of national action—the national milieu..." (p. 72). "Neither revolution, nor war..." (p. 70). "Democracy became the more effectively nationalist, the longer the period of its 'position warfare' was protracted and the longer there lingered on the stage that spell of European history which ... knew of no international conflicts in the heart of Europe, and consequently

experienced no unrest extending beyond the boundaries of national state territories, and felt no keen interest on a general European or world scale" (75-76).

The chief shortcoming in this characterisation, as in Trotsky's characterisation of the same epoch, is a reluctance to discern and recognise the deep contradictions in modern democracy, which has developed on the foundation described above. The impression is produced that the democracy contemporary with the epoch under review remained a single whole, which, generally speaking, was pervaded with gradualism, turned nationalist, was by degrees weaned away from breaks in gradualness and from catastrophes, and grew petty and mildewed.

In reality this could not have happened, since, side by side with the aforesaid tendencies, other and reverse tendencies were undoubtedly operating: the day-by-day life of the working masses was undergoing an internationalisation—the cities were attracting ever more inhabitants, and living conditions in the large cities of the whole world were being levelled out; capital was becoming internationalised, and at the big factories townsmen and countryfolk, both native and alien, were intermingling. The class contradictions were growing ever more acute; the employers' associations were exercising ever greater pressure on the workers' unions; sharper and more bitter forms of struggle were arising, as, for instance, mass strikes; the cost of living was rising; the pressure of finance capital was becoming intolerable, etc., etc.

In actual fact, events *did not follow* the pattern described by Potresov. This we know definitely. In the period under discussion, none, literally not one, of the leading capitalist countries of Europe was spared by the struggle between the two mutually opposed currents within contemporary democracy. In each of the big countries, this struggle at times assumed most violent forms, including splits, this despite the general "peaceful", "sluggish", and somnolent character of the epoch. These contradictory currents have affected all the various fields of life and all problems of modern democracy without exception, such as the attitude towards the bourgeoisie, alliances with the liberals, the voting for war credits, the attitude towards such matters as

colonial policies, reforms, the character of economic struggle, the neutrality of the trade unions, etc.

"All-pervading gradualism" was in no way the predominant sentiment in all contemporary democracy, as the writings of Potresov and Trotsky imply. No, this gradualism was taking shape as a definite political trend, which at the time often produced individual groups, and sometimes even individual parties, of modern democracy in Europe. That trend had its own leaders, its press organs, its policy, and its own particular—and specially organised—method of influencing the masses of the population. Moreover, this trend was more and more basing itself—and ultimately based itself solidly—on the interests of a definite social stratum *within* the democracy of the time.

"All-pervading gradualism" naturally attracted into the ranks of that democracy a number of petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers; furthermore, the specifically petty-bourgeois conditions, and consequently, a petty-bourgeois political orientation, became the rule with a definite stratum of parliamentarians, journalists, and trade union officials; a kind of bureaucracy and aristocracy of the working class was arising in a manner more or less pronounced and clear-cut.

Take, for instance, the possession of colonies and the expansion of colonial possessions. These were undoubted features of the period dealt with above, and with the majority of big states. What did that mean in the economic sense? It meant a sum of super-profits and special privileges for the bourgeoisie. It meant, moreover, the possibility of enjoying crumbs from this big cake for a small minority of the petty bourgeois, as well as for the better-placed employees, officials of the labour movement, etc. The enjoyment of crumbs of advantage from the colonies, from privileges, by an insignificant minority of the working class in Britain, for instance, is an established fact, recognised and pointed out by Marx and Engels. Formerly confined to Britain alone, this phenomenon became common to all the great capitalist countries of Europe, as their colonial possessions expanded, and in general as the imperialist period of capitalism grew and developed.

In a word, the "all-pervading gradualism" of the second epoch (the one of yesterday) has created, not only a certain

"non-adaptability to any break in gradualness", as Potresov thinks, not only certain "possibilist" tendencies, as Trotsky supposes, but an entire opportunist *trend* based on a definite social stratum within present-day democracy, and linked with the bourgeoisie of its own national "shade" by numerous ties of common economic, social, and political interests—a trend directly, openly, consciously, and systematically hostile to any idea of a "break in gradualness".

A number of Trotsky's tactical and organisational errors (to say nothing of Potresov's) spring from his fear, or his reluctance, or inability to recognise the fact of the "maturity" achieved by the opportunist trend, and also its intimate and unbreakable link with the national-liberals (or social-nationalists) of our times. In practice, this failure to recognise this "maturity" and this unbreakable link leads, at least, to absolute confusion and helplessness in the face of the predominant social-nationalist (or national-liberal) evil.

The link between opportunism and social-nationalism is, generally speaking, denied by Potresov, by Martov, Axelrod, V. Kosovsky (who has talked himself into defending the German democrats' national-liberal vote for war credits) and by Trotsky.

Their main "argument" is that no full coincidence exists between yesterday's division of democracy "along the line of opportunism" and today's division "along the line of social-nationalism". This argument is, firstly, incorrect in point of fact, as we shall presently show; secondly, it is absolutely one-sided, incomplete and untenable from the standpoint of Marxist principles. Persons and groups may shift from one side to the other; that is not only possible, but even inevitable in any great social upheaval; however, it does not at all affect the nature of a definite *trend*, or the ideological links between definite trends, or their *class* significance. All these considerations might seem so generally known and indisputable that one feels almost embarrassed at having to lay such emphasis on them. Yet the above-mentioned writers have lost sight of these very considerations. The fundamental class significance of opportunism—or, in other words, its social-economic content—lies in certain elements of present-day democracy

having gone over (in fact, though perhaps unconsciously) to the bourgeoisie, on a number of individual issues. Opportunism is tantamount to a liberal-labour policy. Anyone who is fearful of the "factional" look of these words would do well to go to the trouble of studying the opinions of Marx, Engels, and Kautsky (is the latter not an "authority" highly suitable to the opponents of "factionalism"?) on, let us say, British opportunism. There cannot be the slightest doubt that such a study would lead to a recognition of the coincidence of fundamentals between opportunism and a liberal-labour policy. The basic class significance of today's social-nationalism is exactly the same. The fundamental idea of opportunism is an alliance or a drawing together (sometimes an agreement, bloc, or the like) between the bourgeoisie and its antipode. The fundamental idea of social-nationalism is exactly the same. The ideological and political affinity, connection, and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism are beyond doubt. Naturally, we must take as our basis, not individuals or groups, but a *class* analysis of the content of social *trends*, and an ideological and political examination of their essential and main principles.

Approaching the same subject from a somewhat different angle, we shall ask: *whence* did social-nationalism appear? How did it grow and mature? *What* gave it significance and strength? He who has been unable to find answers to these questions has completely failed to understand what social-nationalism is, and is consequently quite incapable of drawing an "ideological line" between himself and social-nationalism, no matter how vehemently he may assert that he is ready to do so.

There can be only one answer to this question: social-nationalism has developed from opportunism, and it was the latter that gave it strength. How could social-nationalism have appeared "all of a sudden"? In the same fashion as a babe appears "all of a sudden" if nine months have elapsed since its conception. Each of the numerous manifestations of opportunism during the entire second (or yesterday) epoch in all the European countries was a rivulet, which now flowed "all of a sudden" into a big though very shallow (and, we might add parenthetically, muddy and dirty)

river of social-nationalism. Nine months after conception the babe must separate from its mother; many decades after opportunism was conceived, social-nationalism, its ripe fruit, will have to separate from present-day democracy within a period that is more or less brief (as compared with decades). No matter how good people may scold, rage or vociferate over such ideas and words, this is inevitable, since it follows from the entire social development of present-day democracy and from the objective conditions in the third epoch.

But if division "along the line of opportunism" and division "along the line of social-nationalism" do not fully coincide, does that not prove that no substantial link exists between these two facts? It does not, in the first place, just as the fact that individual bourgeois at the end of the eighteenth century went over either to the side of the feudal lords or that of the people does not prove that there was "no link" between the growth of the bourgeoisie and the Great French Revolution of 1789. Secondly, taken by and large, there *is* such a coincidence (and we are speaking only in a general sense and of movements as a whole). Take, not one individual country but a number of them, let us say ten European countries: Germany, *Britain*, *France*, *Belgium*, Russia, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, and Bulgaria. Only the three countries given in italics may seem the exceptions. In the others, the *trends* of uncompromising antagonists to opportunism have given birth to *trends* hostile to social-nationalism. Compare the well-known *Monatshefte* and its opponents in Germany, *Nashe Dyelo* and its opponents in Russia, the party of Bissolati and its opponents in Italy, the adherents of Greulich and Grimm in Switzerland, Branting and Höglund in Sweden, and Troelstra, Pannekoek and Gorter in Holland, and finally the *Obshcho Dyelo* adherents and the *Tesnyaki* in Bulgaria.[90] The general coincidence between the old and the new division is a fact; as for complete coincidences, they do not occur even in the simplest of natural phenomena, any more than there is complete coincidence between the Volga before the Kama joins it, and the Volga below that point; neither is there full similarity between a child and its parents. Britain only seems the exception; in reality, there

were two main currents in Britain prior to the war, these being identified with two *dailies*—which is the truest objective indication of the mass character of these currents—namely, the *Daily Citizen*,[91] the opportunists' newspaper, and the *Daily Herald*,[92] the organ of the opponents of opportunism. Both papers have been swamped by the wave of nationalism; yet, opposition has been expressed by under one-tenth of the former's adherents and by some three-sevenths of the adherents of the latter. The usual method of comparison, whereby only the British Socialist Party is compared with the Independent Labour Party, is erroneous because it overlooks the existence of an *actual* bloc of the latter with the Fabians[93] and the Labour Party. It follows, then, that only two out of the ten countries are exceptions, but even here the exceptions are not complete, since the trends have not changed places; only (for reasons so obvious that they need not be dwelt on) the wave has swamped almost all the opponents of opportunism. This undoubtedly proves the strength of the wave, but it does not in any way disprove coincidence between the old division and the new for all Europe.

We are told that division "along the line of opportunism" is outmoded, and that only one division is of significance, namely, that between the adherents of internationalism and the adherents of national self-sufficiency. This opinion is fundamentally wrong. The concept of "adherents of internationalism" is devoid of all content and meaning, if we do not *concretely* amplify it; any step towards such concrete amplification, however, will be an enumeration of features of hostility to opportunism. In practice, this will prove truer still. An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more. Perhaps certain individuals of this type will honestly consider themselves "internationalists". However, people are judged, not by what they think of themselves but by their political behaviour. The political behaviour of "internationalists" who are not consistent and determined adversaries of opportunism will always aid and abet the nationalist trend. On the other hand, nationalists, too, call themselves "internationalists" (Kautsky, Lensch, Haenisch, Vandervelde,

Hyndman, and others); not only do they call themselves so, but they fully acknowledge an international *rapprochement*, an agreement, a union of persons sharing their views. The opportunists *are not against* "internationalism"; they are only in favour of international approval for and international agreement among the opportunists.

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THE CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. GROUPS ABROAD[94]

Held in Switzerland, a conference of the R.S.D.L.P. groups whose members are resident abroad concluded its work several days ago. Besides discussing purely foreign affairs, which we shall try briefly to comment on in the next issues of the Central Organ, the conference framed resolutions on the important and burning question of the war. We are publishing these resolutions forthwith, in the hope that they will prove of use to all Social-Democrats who are earnestly seeking the way towards live work from the present-day welter of opinions which boil down to an acknowledgement of internationalism in word, and an urge to come to terms at any cost with social-chauvinism in deed. We might add that, on the question of the "United States of Europe" slogan, the discussion was purely political, it being decided that the question be deferred pending a discussion, in the press, of the *economic* aspect of the matter.

THE CONFERENCE'S RESOLUTIONS

The conference, which stands on the basis of the Central Committee's Manifesto, as published in No. 33,* lays down the following principles designed to bring system into propaganda:

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* See pp. 25-34 of this volume.—*Ed.*

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

The present war is imperialist in character. This war is the outcome of conditions in an epoch in which capitalism has reached the highest stage in its development; in which the greatest significance attaches, not only to the export of commodities, but also to the export of capital; an epoch in which the cartelisation of production and the internationalisation of economic life have assumed impressive proportions, colonial policies have brought about the almost complete partition of the globe, world capitalism's productive forces have outgrown the limited boundaries of national and state divisions, and the objective conditions are perfectly ripe for socialism to be achieved.

THE "DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND" SLOGAN

The present war is, in substance, a struggle between Britain, France and Germany for the partition of colonies and for the plunder of rival countries; on the part of tsarism and the ruling classes of Russia, it is an attempt to seize Persia, Mongolia, Turkey in Asia, Constantinople, Galicia, etc. The national element in the Austro-Serbian war is an entirely secondary consideration and does not affect the general imperialist character of the war.

The entire economic and diplomatic history of the last few decades shows that both groups of belligerent nations were systematically preparing the very kind of war such as the present. The question of which group dealt the first military blow or first declared war is immaterial in any determination of the tactics of socialists. Both sides' phrases on the defence of the fatherland, resistance to enemy invasion, a war of defence, etc., are nothing but deception of the people.

At the bottom of genuinely national wars, such as took place especially between 1789 and 1871, was a long process of mass national movements, of a struggle against absolutism and feudalism, the overthrow of national oppression, and the formation of states on a national basis, as a prerequisite of capitalist development.

The national ideology created by that epoch left a deep impress on the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the proletariat. This is now being utilised in a totally different and imperialist epoch by the sophists of the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to socialism who are following in their wake, so as to split the workers, and divert them from their class aims and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The words in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the workingmen have no country" are today truer than ever before. Only the proletariat's international struggle against the bourgeoisie can preserve what it has won, and open to the oppressed masses the road to a better future.

THE SLOGANS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

"The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan, one that follows from the experience of the Commune, and outlined in the Basle resolution (1912); it has been dictated by all the conditions of an imperialist war between highly developed bourgeois countries."*

Civil war, for which revolutionary Social-Democracy today calls, is an armed struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, for the expropriation of the capitalist class in the advanced capitalist countries, and for a democratic revolution in Russia (a democratic republic, an eight-hour working day, the confiscation of the landowners' estates), for a republic to be formed in the backward monarchist countries in general, etc.

The appalling misery of the masses, which has been created by the war, cannot fail to evoke revolutionary sentiments and movements. The civil war slogan must serve to co-ordinate and direct such sentiments and movements.

The organisation of the working class has been badly damaged. Nevertheless, a revolutionary crisis is maturing. After the war, the ruling classes of all countries will make a still greater effort to throw the proletariat's emancipation movement back for decades. The task of the revolu-

* See p. 34 of this volume.—*Ed.*

tionary Social-Democrats—both in the event of a rapid revolutionary development and in that of a protracted crisis, will not consist in renouncing lengthy and day-by-day work, or in discarding any of the old methods of the class struggle. To direct both the parliamentary and the economic struggle against opportunism, in the spirit of revolutionary struggle of the masses—such will be the task.

The following should be indicated as the first steps towards converting the present imperialist war into a civil war: (1) an absolute refusal to vote for war credits, and resignation from bourgeois governments; (2) a complete break with the policy of a class truce (*bloc national*, *Burgfrieden*); (3) formation of an underground organisation wherever the governments and the bourgeoisie abolish constitutional liberties by introducing martial law; (4) support for fraternisation between soldiers of the belligerent nations, in the trenches and on battlefields in general; (5) support for every kind of revolutionary mass action by the proletariat in general.

OPPORTUNISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of socialist opportunism. The latter has grown as a product of the preceding "peaceful" period in the development of the labour movement. That period taught the working class to utilise such important means of struggle as parliamentarianism and all legal opportunities, create mass economic and political organisations, a widespread labour press, etc.; on the other hand, the period engendered a tendency to repudiate the class struggle and to preach a class truce, repudiate the socialist revolution, repudiate the very principle of illegal organisations, recognise bourgeois patriotism, etc. Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labour movement and the labour aristocracy, who get a fraction of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their "fatherlands" in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathisers within the socialist parties, have proved the social mainstay of these tendencies and channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat.

The baneful influence of opportunism has made itself felt most strongly in the policies of most of the official Social-Democratic parties of the Second International during the war. Voting for war credits, participation in governments, the policy of a class truce, the repudiation of an illegal organisation when legality has been rescinded—all this is a violation of the International's most important decisions, and a downright betrayal of socialism.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The war-created crisis has exposed the real essence of opportunism as the bourgeoisie's accomplice against the proletariat. The so-called Social-Democratic "Centre", headed by Kautsky, has in practice completely slid into opportunism, behind a cover of exceedingly harmful and hypocritical phrases and a Marxism falsified to resemble imperialism. Experience shows that in Germany, for instance, a defence of the socialist standpoint has been possible only by resolute opposition to the will of the majority of the Party leadership. It would be a harmful illusion to hope that a genuinely socialist International can be restored without a full organisational severance from the opportunists.

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party must support all and every international and revolutionary mass action by the proletariat, and strive to bring together all anti-chauvinist elements in the International.

PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SLOGAN

Pacifism, the preaching of peace in the abstract, is one of the means of duping the working class. Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable. On the other hand, however, Social-Democrats cannot overlook the positive significance of revolutionary wars, i.e., not imperialist wars, but such as were fought, for instance, between 1789 and 1871, with the aim of doing away with national oppression, and creating national capitalist states out of the feudal decentralised states, or such wars

that may be waged to defend the conquests of the proletariat victorious in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous.

THE DEFEAT OF THE TSARIST MONARCHY

In each country, the struggle against a government that is waging an imperialist war should not falter at the possibility of that country's defeat as a result of revolutionary propaganda. The defeat of the government's army weakens the government, promotes the liberation of the nationalities it oppresses, and facilitates civil war against the ruling classes.

This holds particularly true in respect of Russia. A victory for Russia will bring in its train a strengthening of reaction, both throughout the world and within the country, and will be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the peoples living in areas already seized. In view of this, we consider the defeat of Russia the lesser evil in all conditions.

THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER PARTIES AND GROUPS

The war, which has engendered a spate of chauvinism, has revealed that the democratic (Narodnik) intelligentsia, the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries (with complete instability of the oppositional trend, which is centred in *Mysl*), and the main group of liquidators (*Nasha Zarya*) which is supported by Plekhanov, are all in the grip of chauvinism. In practice, the Organising Committee is also on the side of chauvinism, beginning with Larin and Martov's camouflaged support of chauvinism and ending with Axelrod's defence of the principle of patriotism; so is the Bund, in which a Germanophile chauvinism prevails. The Brussels bloc (of July 3, 1914) has disintegrated, while the elements

that are grouped around *Nashe Slovo* are vacillating between a Platonic sympathy with internationalism and a striving for unity, at any price, with *Nasha Zarya* and the Organising Committee. The same vacillation is manifest in Chkheidze's Social-Democratic group. The latter has, on the one hand, expelled the Plekhanovite, i.e., the chauvinist, Mankov; on the other hand, it wishes to cover up, by all possible means, the chauvinism of Plekhanov, *Nasha Zarya*, Axelrod, the Bund, etc.

It is the task of the Social-Democratic Labour Party in Russia to consolidate the proletarian unity created in 1912-14, mainly by *Pravda*,[95] and to re-establish the Social-Democratic Party organisations of the working class, on the basis of a decisive organisational break with the social-chauvinists. Temporary agreements are possible only with those Social-Democrats who stand for a decisive organisational rupture with the Organising Committee, *Nasha Zarya* and the Bund.

Written not later than
February 19 (March 4), 1915

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Published according to
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LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE EDITORS OF *NASHE SLOVO*[96]

Dear Comrades:

We fully agree with you that the rallying of all genuine Social-Democratic internationalists is one of the most pressing tasks of the moment.... Before replying to your practical proposal, we consider it necessary to clarify with frankness certain preliminary questions, so as to know whether we are at one in the main issue. You are quite right in feeling indignant about Alexinsky, Plekhanov and the like having come out in the foreign press, claiming that theirs is "the voice of the Russian proletariat or of influential groups therein". This *must* be fought against. To carry on the struggle, the root of the evil has to be got at. There cannot be the least doubt that there has not been, and there is not, any greater vice than the so-called system of representation of the notorious "trends" abroad. In this we can hardly lay the blame on the foreigners. Let us recall the recent past. Were not Alexinsky and Plekhanov (and not these two alone) given the opportunity, at the selfsame Brussels Conference (July 3, 1914), to depict themselves as "trends"? After this, can it be surprising that even now foreigners take them for representatives of "trends"? This evil cannot be countered with the aid of some declaration or another. What is needed is a long struggle. For that struggle to be successful, we must say to ourselves, once and for all, that we recognise only those *organisations* which for years have been linked up with the working masses, and have been empowered by recognised committees, etc., and

that we brand, as deception of the workers, a system under which a half-dozen intellectuals who have brought out two or three issues of a newspaper or journal declare themselves a "trend", or lay claim to "equal rights" with the Party.

Does agreement exist between us on this, comrades?

Then, about the internationalists. In one of your recent editorials, you enumerated those organisations which, in your opinion, hold an internationalist stand. High on that list is—the Bund. We would like to know what grounds you have to number the Bund among the internationalists. The resolution of its Central Committee does not contain a single definite word on the major problems of socialism. It breathes a most unprincipled eclecticism. The Bund's organ (*Information Bulletin*[97]) indubitably adheres to the standpoint of Germanophile chauvinism, or else gives a "synthesis" of French and German chauvinism. It was with good reason that an article by Kosovsky adorned the pages of *Die Neue Zeit*, a journal which (we hope you agree with us on this) is now among the most disreputable of the so-called "socialist" press organs.

We stand heart and soul for unity among all internationalists. We would very much like their number to be greater. We must not, however, go in for self-deception; we cannot count among the internationalists people and organisations whose internationalism exists only on paper.

What should be understood by internationalism? Is it, for instance, possible to number among the internationalists those who stand for the International being restored on the principle of a mutual "amnesty"? As you know, Kautsky is the leading representative of the "amnesty" theory. Victor Adler has come out in the same vein. We consider the adherents of an amnesty the most dangerous opponents of internationalism. Restored on the basis of an "amnesty", the International would cheapen socialism. All concessions and all agreements with Kautsky and Co. are inexcusable. A most determined struggle against the "amnesty" theory is a *conditio sine qua non* of internationalism. It is vain to speak of internationalism if there is no desire and no readiness to make a complete break with the defenders of an "amnesty". The question arises: does agreement on this fundamental issue exist between us? A negative attitude towards

the "amnesty" policy seems to have been hinted at in your newspaper. You will, however, agree that before any practical steps can be made we are entitled to ask you to let us know in detail how you regard this issue.

Connected with this is the question of the attitude towards the Organising Committee. In our very first letter to you,* we considered it necessary to tell you quite frankly that there are serious grounds to doubt the internationalism of that body. You have not made any attempt to dispel that opinion. We again ask you: what facts do you possess to consider that the Organising Committee adheres to an internationalist stand? It cannot be positively denied that Axelrod's stand, set forth on several occasions in print; is patently chauvinist (almost Plekhanovite). Axelrod is without doubt the Organising Committee's leading representative. Further, consider the Organising Committee's official statements. Its report to the Copenhagen Conference[98] was couched in a vein that led to its being published by the most extreme chauvinists in Germany. Statements by the Organising Committee's "Secretariat Abroad" are much the same. At best, they say nothing that is definite. On the other hand, Larin—officially, on behalf of the Organising Committee and not of some kind of secretariat abroad—has made statements designed to defend chauvinism. What is there internationalist about this? Is it not clear that the Organising Committee adheres completely to the standpoint of a mutual "amnesty"?

Furthermore, what guarantees are there that the Organising Committee represents some force in Russia? Today, following the statement in *Nasha Zarya*, this question is most pertinent. For years, the *Nasha Zarya* group conducted their line; they brought out a daily paper, and went in for mass agitation of their own brand. But what about the Organising Committee?

We all acknowledge that the issue will be settled, not by the alignment of forces in groups abroad—in Zurich, Paris, etc.—but by the influence enjoyed among the workers of St. Petersburg and of all Russia. This should be kept in view, whatever the steps we take.

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* See pp. 125-28 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Such are the considerations we have wanted to inform you of. We shall be very glad to get a detailed and clear reply to all these questions. Then we shall be able to think of what is to come next.

Written on March 10 (23), 1915

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Российская Социал-Демократическая Рабочая Партия. LE SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATE Пролетарии всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

СОЦІАЛЬДЕМОКРАТЪ

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ ОРГАНЪ РОССІЙСКОЙ СОЦІАЛЬДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ РАБОЧЕЙ ПАРТІИ

№ 40. Женева. 29 Марта 1915. Цѣна 10 ст.

ЧТО ДОКАЗАЛЪ СУДЪ НАДЪ Р.С-Д.Р. ФРАКЦІЕЙ?

ДЕКЛАРАЦІЯ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНАГО КОМИТЕТА Р.С-Д.Р.П.,

ПО ПОВОДУ ЛОНДОНСКОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦІИ.

First page of Sotsial-Demokrat No. 40, March 29, 1915, in which Lenin's articles "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group" and "On the London Conference" were published

Reduced

WHAT HAS BEEN REVEALED BY THE TRIAL OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR DUMA GROUP [99]

The trial, by the tsar's court, of five members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group and six other Social-Democrats seized on November 4, 1914 at a conference near Petrograd has ended. They have all been sentenced to life exile in Siberia. The censor has deleted from accounts of the trial published in the legal press all the passages that may be unpleasant to tsarism and the patriots. The "internal enemies" have been rapidly dealt with and again nothing is to be seen or heard on the surface of public life except the savage howling of a pack of bourgeois chauvinists, echoed by some handfuls of social-chauvinists.

What, then, has the trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group proved?

First of all, it has shown that this advance contingent of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Russia failed to display sufficient firmness at the trial. It was the aim of the accused to prevent the State Prosecutor from finding out the names of the members of the Central Committee in Russia and of the Party's representatives in its contacts with workers' organisations. That aim has been achieved. To continue achieving that aim in the future, we muse resort to a method long recommended officially by the Party, i.e., refuse to give evidence. However, to attempt to prove one's solidarity with the social-patriot Mr. Yordansky, as Rosenfeld did, or one's disagreement with the Central Committee, is a wrong method, one that is inexcusable from the standpoint of a revolutionary Social-Democrat.

We shall note that, according to a *Dyen* report (No. 40)[100]—there is no official or complete record of the trial—Comrade Petrovsky stated: "In the same period [November] I received the Central Committee resolution ... and besides I was given resolutions adopted by workers in seven various places concerning their attitude towards the war, resolutions *coinciding with the Central Committee's attitude*."

This declaration does Petrovsky credit. The tide of chauvinism was running high on all sides. In Petrovsky's diary there is an entry to the effect that *even* the radical-minded Chkheidze spoke with enthusiasm of a war for "liberty". This chauvinism was resisted by the R.S.D.L. group deputies when they were free, but it was also their duty, at the trial, to draw a line of distinction between themselves and chauvinism.

The Cadet *Rech*[101] had servilely "thanked" the tsar's court for "dispelling the legend" that the Russian Social-Democratic deputies wanted the defeat of the tsar's armies. Taking advantage of the fact that in Russia the Social-Democrats are tied hand and foot in their activities, the Cadets are pretending to take seriously the so-called "conflict" between the Party and the Duma group, and declare that the accused gave their evidence without the least compulsion. What innocent babes? They pretend ignorance of the threat of a court-martial and the death sentence that hung over the deputies in the early stage of the trial.

The comrades should have refused to give evidence concerning the illegal organisation, and, in view of the historic importance of the moment, they should have taken advantage of a public trial to openly set forth the Social-Democratic views, which are hostile, not only to tsarism in general, but also to social-chauvinism of all and every shade.

Let the government and bourgeois press wrathfully attack the R.S.D.L. group; let the Social-Revolutionaries, liquidators and social-chauvinists (who must fight us somehow, if they cannot fight us on the issue of principles!) with gleeful malice "discover" signs of weakness or of fictitious "disagreement with the Central Committee". The Party of the revolutionary proletariat is strong enough to openly criticise itself, and unequivocally call mistakes and weaknesses by their proper names. The class-conscious

workers of Russia have created a party and have placed in the forefront an advance contingent which, during a world war and the world-wide collapse of international opportunism have revealed more than anyone else the ability to perform their duty as internationalist revolutionary Social-Democrats. The road we have been travelling has been tested by the greatest of all crises, and has proved, over and over again, the only correct road. We shall follow it still more firmly and resolutely; we shall throw out fresh advance contingents, and shall see to it that they not only carry out the same work, but carry it through more correctly.

Secondly, the trial has revealed a picture without precedent in world socialism—that of *revolutionary* Social-Democracy making use of parliamentarianism. More than any speeches, this example will appeal to the minds and hearts of the proletarian masses; more convincingly than any arguments, it will refute the legalist opportunists and anarchist phrase-mongers. The report on Muranov's illegal work and Petrovsky's notes will long remain a model of *that* kind of work carried out by our deputies, which we have had diligently to conceal, and the meaning of which will give all class-conscious workers in Russia more and more food for thought. At a time when nearly all "socialist" (forgive the debasement of the word!) deputies in Europe have proved chauvinists and servants of chauvinists, when the famous "Europeanism" that once charmed our liberals and liquidators has proved an obtuse habitude of slavish legality, there was to be found in Russia a workers' party whose deputies excelled, not in high-flown speech, or being "received" in bourgeois, intellectualist salons, or in the business acumen of the "European" lawyer and parliamentarian, but in ties with the working masses, in dedicated work among those masses, in carrying on modest, unpretentious, arduous, thankless and highly dangerous duties of illegal propagandists and organisers. To climb higher, towards the rank of a deputy or minister influential in "society" such has been the *actual* meaning of "European" (i.e., servile) "socialist" parliamentarism. To go into the midst of the masses, to help enlighten and unite the exploited and the oppressed—such is the slogan advanced by the examples set by Muranov and Petrovsky.

This slogan will acquire historic significance. In no country in the world will a single thinking worker agree to confine himself to the old legality of bourgeois parliamentarism, when that legality has been abolished with a stroke of the pen in all the advanced countries, and has led to merely a closer actual alliance between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie. Whoever dreams of "unity" between revolutionary Social-Democratic workers and the "European" Social-Democratic legalists of yesterday, and *of today*, has learned nothing and forgotten everything, and is in fact an ally of the bourgeoisie and an enemy of the proletariat. Whoever has to this day failed to realise why the R.S.D.L. group broke away from the Social-Democratic group that was making its peace with legalism and opportunism can now learn a lessen from the activities of Muranov and Petrovsky as described in the report on the trial. It was *not only* by these two deputies that this work was conducted, and only hopelessly naïve people can dream of a compatibility between such work and a "friendly and tolerant attitude" towards *Nasha Zarya* or *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*,[102] towards *Sovremennik*, the Organising Committee, or the Bund.

Do the government hope to intimidate the workers by sending the members of the R.S.D.L. group to Siberia? They will find themselves mistaken. The workers will not be intimidated, but will the better understand their aims, those of a workers' party as distinct from the liquidators and the social-chauvinists. The workers will learn to elect to the Duma only men such as the members of the R.S.D.L. group, and for similar and ever more extensive work, such that will be conducted among the masses with still more *secrecy*. Do the government intend to do away with "illegal parliamentarianism" in Russia? They will merely consolidate the links between the proletariat *exclusively* with that kind of parliamentarism.

Thirdly, and most important, the court proceedings against the R.S.D.L. group have, for the first time, produced open and objective material, disseminated all over Russia in millions of copies, concerning the most fundamental, the most significant and most vital question of the attitude of the *various classes* in Russian society towards

the war. Have we not had enough of nauseating intellectualist jabber about the compatibility between "defence of the fatherland" and internationalism "in principle" (i.e., purely verbal and hypocritical internationalism)? Has not the time come to examine the *facts* that bear upon *classes*, i.e., millions of living people, not some dozens of phrase-mongers?

Over half a year has passed since the outbreak of war. The press, both legal and illegal, and expressing all trends, has had its say; all the party groups in the Duma have defined their stands—a highly insufficient index of our class groupings, but the only objective one. The trial of the R.S.D.L. group and the press comment on it have summed up all this material. The trial has shown that the finest representatives of the proletariat in Russia are not only hostile to chauvinism in general but, in particular, share the stand of our Central Organ. The deputies were arrested on November 4, 1914. Consequently, they had been conducting their work for over two months. How and with whom did they carry it on? Which currents in the working class did they reflect and express? The answer is found in the fact that the "theses" and *Sotsial-Demokrat* provided the material for the conference, and that, on several occasions, the Petrograd Committee of our Party issued leaflets of the same nature. There was no other material at the conference. The deputies had no intention of reporting to the conference on other currents in the working class, because no other currents existed.

Perhaps the members of the R.S.D.L. group were expressing the opinion of a mere minority of, the workers? We have no grounds to suppose so, since, in the two and a half years, between the spring of 1912 and the autumn of 1914, four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia rallied around *Pravda*, with which these deputies were working in complete ideological solidarity. That is a fact. Had there been a more or less appreciable protest among the workers against the Central Committee's stand, that protest would have surely found expression in the resolutions proposed. Nothing of the kind emerged at the trial, though the latter, it might be said, did "reveal" much of the work done by the R.S.D.L. group. The corrections

made in Petrovsky's handwriting do not reveal even the slightest hint at any difference of opinion.

The facts show that, in the very first months after the outbreak of the war, the class-conscious vanguard of the workers of Russia rallied, *in deed*, about the Central Committee and the Central Organ. However unpleasant this fact may be to certain "groups", it is undeniable. Thanks to the trial, the words cited in the indictment: "The guns should be directed, not against our brothers, the wage slaves of other countries, but against the reactionary and bourgeois governments and parties of all countries"—these words will spread—and have already done so—all over Russia as a call for proletarian internationalism, for the proletarian revolution. Thanks to the trial, the class slogan of the vanguard of the workers of Russia has reached the masses.

An epidemic of chauvinism among the bourgeoisie and a certain section of the petty bourgeoisie, vacillation in the other section of the latter, and a working class call of this nature—such is the actual and objective picture of our political divisions. It is to this actual situation, not to the pious wishes of intellectuals and founders of grouplets, that one must gear one's "prospects", hopes, and slogans.

The Pravdist papers and the "Muranov type" of work have brought about the unity of four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia. About forty thousand workers have been buying *Pravda*; far more read it. Even if war, prison, Siberia, and hard labour should destroy five or even ten times as many—this section of the workers *cannot* be annihilated. It is alive. It is imbued with the revolutionary spirit, is anti-chauvinist. It *alone* stands in the midst of the masses, with deep roots in the latter, as the champion of the internationalism of the toilers, the exploited, and the oppressed. It *alone* has held its ground in the general *débâcle*. It alone is leading the semi-proletarian elements away from the social-chauvinism of the Cadets, the Trudoviks, Plekhanov and *Nasha Zarya*, and *towards* socialism. Its existence, its ideas, its work, and its call for the "brotherhood of wage slaves of other countries" have been revealed to the whole of Russia by the trial of the R.S.D.L. group.

It is with this section that we must work, and its unity must be defended against social-chauvinists. That is the only road along which the working-class movement of Russia can develop towards social revolution, and not towards national-liberalism of the "European" type.

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ON THE LONDON CONFERENCE

The declaration by Comrade Maximovich, representative of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee, which we are publishing here, fully expresses our Party's views on this Conference. The French bourgeois press has excellently revealed its significance as an expedient or a stratagem of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie. The roles have been distributed as follows: *Le Temps* and *L'Echo de Paris*[103] have attacked the French socialists for their allegedly excessive concessions to internationalism. These attacks have been merely a stratagem designed to pave the way for Premier Viviani's well-known declaration in the Chamber, which was marked by an aggressive patriotism. On the other hand, *Journal des Débats*[104] laid the cards on the table by stating that the whole point was in getting the British socialists, under Keir Hardie, who had hitherto been opposed to the war and to conscription, to vote, at the Conference, for the war to be prosecuted until victory is won over Germany. This is tangible and important as the political outcome of the British and French socialists having been won over to the side of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie. As for the phrases on internationalism, socialism, a referendum, etc., these are *merely* phrases, idle words of no significance whatever.

No doubt, the clever reactionaries of the French bourgeoisie have blurted out the real truth. The war is being conducted by the Anglo-French bourgeoisie, plus their Russian counterpart, with the aim of ravaging and plundering Germany, Austria and Turkey. It stands in need of recruiting officers, as well as of socialist consent to fight on until victory over Germany is won. The rest is idle and shameful

phrase-mongering, which prostitutes such great words as socialism, internationalism, etc. To follow the bourgeoisie and help it plunder other countries in deed, and to regale the masses with hypocritical recognition of "socialism and the International" in word—such is opportunism's cardinal sin and the main reason why the Second International has collapsed.

The task confronting the opponents of social-chauvinism at the London Conference was therefore clear: in the name of clear-cut anti-chauvinist principles, they had to walk out from the Conference, *without* at the same time *falling into* Germanophilism, since, for no other motive but *chauvinism*, the pro-Germans are decidedly opposed to the London Conference. Comrade Maximovich accomplished that task when he spoke in definite terms of the *treachery* of the German socialists.

The Bundists and the adherents of the Organising Committee are unable to grasp this simple and obvious fact. The former are Germanophiles, in the way Kosovsky is, who *frankly justifies* the German Social-Democrats' vote for war credits (see *Information Bulletin* of the Bund No. 7, January 1915, p. 7, beginning of § 5). The editors of the bulletin made no mention of their disagreeing with Kosovsky, although they did emphasise that they were in disagreement with Borisov, that champion of Russian patriotism. The Manifesto of the Bund's Central Committee (ibid., p. 3) does not contain a single explicit word against social chauvinism.

The Organising Committee's supporters want a reconciliation between the Germanophile and the Francophile brands of chauvinism as can be seen from Axelrod's statements (*Golos* Nos. 86 and 87 and from the first issue of *Izvestia* of the Organising Committee's secretariat abroad,[105] Feb. 22, 1915). When the editors of *Nashe Slovo* proposed that we take joint action against "official social-chauvinism", we replied *outright* that the Organising Committee and the Bund had themselves sided with official social-patriotism. In our reply we enclosed our draft declaration and referred to Comrade Maximovich's decisive vote.

Why is *Nashe Slovo* trying to deceive itself and others in *failing to mention* this in its editorial of No. 32? Why is

it silent about our declaration having also spoken of the German Social-Democrats' *treachery*? The *Nashe Slovo* declaration *omitted* this most important and fundamental point: neither we nor Comrade Maximovich adopted that declaration, or could have done so. That was why joint action by the Organising Committee and ourselves did *not* result. Why, then, is *Nashe Slovo* deceiving itself and others in asserting that a basis exists for unity of action?

"Official social-patriotism" is the main evil in present-day socialism. To combat that evil (and not to become reconciled to it, or to declare a mutual international "amnesty" on this point), all forces must be prepared and mustered. Kautsky and others have produced a clear-cut programme for an "amnesty" and a peace with social-chauvinism. We have tried to give a clear-cut programme for the struggle against it: see, in particular, No. 33 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and the resolutions published therein. It remains for us to express the wish that *Nashe Slovo* go over to something more definite than vacillation between "platonic sympathy with internationalism", and peace with social-chauvinism.

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THE SLOGAN OF CIVIL WAR ILLUSTRATED

On January 8 (New Style), Swiss papers received the following message from Berlin: "Of late the press has repeatedly carried reports of peaceable attempts made by men in the German and French trenches to enter into friendly relations. According to *Tägliche Rundschau*,[106] an army order dated December 29 bans any fraternisation and any kind of intercourse with the enemy in the trenches. Disregard of this order is punishable as high treason."

Thus, fraternisation and attempts to enter into friendly relations with the enemy are a fact. The German military authorities are showing concern over the matter, which means that they attach considerable importance to it. The British *Labour Leader* of January 7, 1915, published *a series* of quotations from the British bourgeois press on instances of fraternisation between British and German soldiers, who arranged a "forty-eight-hour truce" at Christmas, met amicably in no-man's land, and so on. The British military authorities issued a *special order forbidding* fraternisation. And yet, with the utmost complacency and the comfortable feeling that the military censorship will protect them against any denials, the socialist opportunists and their vindicators (or lackeys?) have assured the workers, through the press (as Kautsky has done), that *no* understanding on anti-war action by the socialists of the belligerent countries is possible (the expression literally used by Kautsky in *Die Neue Zeit*)!

Try to imagine Hyndman, Guesde, Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Kautsky and the rest—instead of aiding the bourgeoisie (something they are now engaged in)—forming an international committee to agitate for "fraternisation and attempts

to establish friendly relations" between the socialists of the belligerent countries, both in the "trenches" and among the troops in general. What would the results be several months from now, if today, only six months after the outbreak of the war and *despite* all the political bosses, leaders and luminaries who have betrayed socialism, opposition is mounting on all sides against those who have voted for war credits and those who have accepted ministerial jobs, and the military authorities are threatening that "fraternisation" carries the death sentence?

"There is only one practical issue—victory or defeat for one's country," Kautsky, lackey of the opportunists, has written, in concord with Guesde, Plekhanov and Co. Indeed, if one were to forget socialism and the class struggle, that would be the truth. However, if one does not lose sight of socialism, that is untrue. Then there is another *practical* issue: should we perish as blind and helpless slaves, in a war between slave-holders, or should we fall in "attempts at fraternisation" between the slaves, with the aim of casting off slavery?

Such, *in reality*, is the "practical" issue.

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THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS' SOPHISMS

Nashe Dyelo (No. 1, 1915), which is published in Petrograd by the liquidators, is bringing out a translation of *Internationalism and War*, a pamphlet by Kautsky. At the same time, Mr. A. Potresov says he does not agree with Kautsky who, in his opinion, acts now like an "advocate" (i.e., a pleader for German social-chauvinism, who denies recognition of the Franco-Russian brand of the species), now like a "judge" (i.e., a Marxist who tries to apply the Marxist method without prejudice).

In actual fact, both Mr. A. Potresov and Kautsky have betrayed Marxism in the main issues, defending as they do national liberal-labour policies, by using obvious sophisms. Mr. A. Potresov is distracting his readers' attention from the fundamentals, while arguing with Kautsky over details. According to Mr. Potresov, the "solution" of the problem of the attitude of the British and the French "democracies" towards the war (the author is referring to working-class democracy) is "on the whole a good solution" (p. 69); these democracies, he says, "have acted correctly", although their solution has been, not so conscious as "in accord with a national solution, through a happy coincidence".

The meaning of these words is clear. Under Anglo-French cover, Mr. A. Potresov, is defending Russian chauvinism, and justifying the patriotic tactics used by the socialists of the Triple Entente. Mr. Potresov argues against Kautsky, not in the way a Marxist should argue against a chauvinist, but like a Russian chauvinist against a German counterpart. This is an old and threadbare method; it should, however, be noted that Mr. A. Potresov disguises and confuses in every possible way the clear and simple import of his words.

The points on which Mr. A. Potresov and Kautsky *agree* are the gist of the matter. For instance they agree that: "the present-day proletariat's internationalism is compatible with defence of country" (K. Kautsky, p. 34 in the German edition of his pamphlet). Mr. A. Potresov speaks of the special situation of a country "that has been subjected to an attack". "The people fear nothing more than an enemy invasion...", Kautsky writes. "If the inhabitants of a country see the cause of war, not in their own government, but in the evil designs of a neighbouring state—and what government does not attempt to inculcate such a view upon the masses through the press, etc.!—then ... the unanimous desire to defend the borders against the enemy flares up in the entire population.... The infuriated mob would kill those who would attempt to hamper the dispatch of armies to the borders" (K. Kautsky, p. 33 in the article of 1911).

This is a would-be Marxist defence of the fundamental idea of all social-chauvinists.

As early as 1911, Kautsky saw very clearly that the government (and the bourgeoisie) would *deceive* "the people, the population, the mob" by placing the blame on the "evil designs" of another country. The question arises whether support for such deception—whether by voting for war credits or by speeches, articles, etc.—is compatible with internationalism and socialism, or whether it is tantamount to a national liberal-labour policy! Kautsky is behaving like a most shameless "advocate", like the worst kind of sophist, when he substitutes for this question another one namely, whether it is reasonable for "individuals" to "hamper the dispatch of armies", in the teeth of the will of the majority of a people that have been deceived by their government. That is not the point at issue. That is not the gist of the matter. Deceived petty bourgeois must be dissuaded, and the deception made clear to them. It is sometimes necessary to go with them to the battleground and be able to wait until they have been sobered by the experience of war. Not this is under discussion but the question whether it is permissible for socialists to participate in the bourgeoisie's deception of the "people". Kautsky and Potresov justify such deception, though they know perfectly well that the guilt for the imperialist war of 1914 falls equally on

the "evil designs" of the governments and the bourgeoisie of all the "Great" Powers—Britain and France, Germany and Russia. This is clearly stated, for instance, in the Basle resolution of 1912.

There can be no doubt that the "people", i.e., the mass of petty bourgeois and part of the deceived workers, believe in the bourgeois fable of the enemy's "evil designs". Yet it is the duty of Social-Democrats to combat this deception, not support it. Long before the war, all Social-Democrats in all countries said that *any* Great Power strives in fact to build up and extend its domination over the colonies, oppress small nations, etc. This was reiterated at Basle. The war is being waged for the partitioning of colonies and for the plunder of other lands; thieves have fallen out, and it is a brazen bourgeois lie to claim that, at this particular moment, some thief is getting the worse of it; to do so is to present the thieves' interests as those of the people or the fatherland. We must speak the *truth* to the "people", who are suffering from the war; that truth is that no defence can be put up against sufferings of wartime unless the government and the bourgeoisie of every belligerent country are overthrown. To defend Belgium *by means* of throttling Galicia or Hungary is no "defence of the fatherland".

However, Marx himself, who condemned wars, as, for instance, in 1854-76, took sides with one of the belligerents when, despite the will of the socialists, war had become a fact. That is the main contention and the chief trump card in Kautsky's pamphlet. It is also the stand of Mr. Potresov, who by "internationalism" understands finding out the *success of which side* in the war is more desirable or less harmful from the standpoint of the interests of the proletariat, not in a particular country but *the world over*. The war, he says, is being conducted by governments and the bourgeoisie, it is for the proletariat to decide *which* government's victory presents the least danger to the workers of the world.

The sophistry of this reasoning consists in a bygone period of history being substituted for the present. The following were the main features of the old wars referred to by Kautsky: (1) they dealt with the problems of bourgeois-democratic reforms and the overthrow of absolutism or foreign oppression; (2) the objective prerequisites for a socialist revolution had

not yet matured, and *prior to the war*, no socialist could speak of utilising it to "hasten the downfall of capitalism", as the Stuttgart (1907) and Basle (1912) resolutions do; (3) in the countries of *neither* of the belligerent groups were there any socialist parties of any strength or mass appeal, and tested in the struggle.

In short, it is not surprising that Marx and the Marxists confined themselves to determining *which* bourgeoisie's victory would be more harmless to (or more favourable to) the world proletariat, at a time when one could not speak of a general proletarian movement against the governments and the bourgeoisie of all the belligerent countries.

Long before the war and for the first time in world history the socialists of all the countries now engaged in hostilities gathered together and declared that they would make use of the war "to hasten the downfall of capitalism" (the Stuttgart resolution, 1907). In other words, they recognised that objective conditions had matured for that "hastening of the downfall", i.e., for a socialist revolution. That is to say, they threatened the governments with a revolution. In Basle (1912) they said the same thing in still clearer terms, referring to the Commune and to October-December 1906,[107] i.e., civil war.

When war broke out, the socialists who had threatened the governments with revolution and had called upon the proletariat to bring about that revolution began to refer to what had happened half a century before, and today are justifying socialist support for the governments and the bourgeoisie! The Marxist Gorter is absolutely right in comparing, in his Dutch brochure, *Imperialism, the World War and Social-Democracy* (p. 84), "radicals" of the Kautsky type with the liberals of 1848, who were courageous in word and traitors in deed.

For decades, a conflict between revolutionary Social-Democratic and the opportunist elements was developing within European socialism. The crisis has come to a head. The abscess has burst as a result of the war. Most official parties have yielded to the national liberal-labour politicians, who defend the privileges of their "own" bourgeoisie, and *the latter*'s privilege to possess colonies, oppress small nations, etc. Both Kautsky and Potresov defend and justify

the national liberal-labour policy instead of exposing it to the proletariat. That is the essence of the social-chauvinists' sophisms.

Mr. A. Potresov has inadvertently let the cat out of the bag by his assertion that "the Stuttgart formula was untenable in principle" (p. 79). What of that? To the proletariat, open renegades are better than covert ones. Carry on, Mr. A. Potresov; to repudiate Stuttgart and Basle is the more honest course.

Kautsky, the diplomat, is more wily than Mr. A. Potresov; he does not repudiate Stuttgart and Basle. He merely—"merely"!—quotes the Basle Manifesto, *omitting* all references to revolution! Can it be that the censor has been using his blue pencil on both Potresov and Kautsky? Potresov and Kautsky seem ready to speak of revolution when that is permitted by the censor.

Let us hope that Potresov, Kautsky and their adherents will propose that the Stuttgart and the Basle resolutions be replaced by something like the following: "Should war break out despite our efforts, we must decide, from the standpoint of the world proletariat, what is most to its advantage: that India be plundered by Britain or by Germany; that the Negroes of Africa be taught the use of 'firewater' and pillaged by the French or by the Germans; that Turkey be oppressed by the Austro-Germans or by the Anglo-Franco-Russian alliance; that the Germans should throttle Belgium or the Russians, Galicia; that China be partitioned by the Japanese or by the Americans", etc.

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THE QUESTION OF THE UNITY OF INTERNATIONALISTS

The war has led to a grave crisis in the whole of international socialism. Like any other crisis, the present crisis of socialism has revealed ever more clearly the inner contradictions lying deep within it; it has torn off many a false and conventional mask, and has shown up in the sharpest light what is outmoded and rotten in socialism, and what its further growth and advance towards victory will depend on.

Practically all Social-Democrats in Russia realise that the old divisions and groupings are, if not obsolescent, then at least undergoing a transformation. In the forefront is the division on the main issue raised by the war, viz., the division into "internationalists" and "social-patriots". We have taken these terms from the editorial in *Nashe Slovo* No. 42, and for the time being shall not deal with the question of whether they should be supplemented by contrasting revolutionary Social-Democrats with national liberal-labour politicians.

It is not a matter of names, to be sure; the gist of the main present-day division has been correctly indicated in *Nashe Slovo*. The internationalists, it says, are "united in their negative attitude towards social-patriotism as represented by Plekhanov". The editors call upon the "now disunited groups" "to come to an understanding and unite for at least a single act—expressing the attitude of Russian Social-Democrats towards the present war and Russian social-patriotism".

Besides this appeal through the press, the editors of *Nashe Slovo* have sent a letter to us and the Organising

Committee, proposing that, with their participation, a conference be called to discuss the matter. In our reply we spoke of the necessity "to clarify certain preliminary questions, so as to know whether we are at one in the main issue". We stressed two such preliminary questions: (1) no declaration would help unmask the "social-patriots" (the editors naming Plekhanov, Alexinsky, and the well-known group of Petrograd liquidationist writers who support the *XYZ* journal[108]) who "falsify the will of the advanced proletariat of Russia" (the expression used by the editors of *Nashe Slovo*); to unmask the social-patriots, a protracted struggle is necessary; (2) what grounds were there to count the Organising Committee among the "internationalists"?

On the other hand, the Organising Committee's secretariat abroad sent us a copy of its reply to *Nashe Slovo*, which, in short, asserted that a "*preliminary*" selection of certain groups and the "exclusion of others" were out of the question; and that "invitations to the conference should be sent to the representatives abroad of all party centres and groups that attended ... the Brussels Conference of the International Socialist Bureau before the war" (letter of March 25, 1915).

Thus, the Organising Committee has declined on principle to confer with the *internationalists* alone, since it wishes also to confer with the social-patriots (the Plekhanov and the Alexinsky trends are known to have been represented at Brussels). The same spirit marked the resolution of the Social-Democrats gathered in Nervi (*Nashe Slovo* No. 53), which was adopted following Yonov's report (and obviously expressed the views of this representative of the most radical and internationalist elements in the Bund).

This resolution, which is highly characteristic and valuable in helping us specify the "middle road" being sought by many socialists living abroad, expresses sympathy with *Nashe Slovo*'s "principles", but at the same time expresses disagreement with *Nashe Slovo*'s stand "which consists in creating organisational divisions, uniting internationalist socialists alone, and defending the necessity of splits within socialist proletarian parties that have historically come into being". In the opinion of the gathering, *Nashe Slovo*'s "one-sided handling" (of these questions) is "highly

detrimental to clarification of problems connected with the restoration of the International".

We have already pointed out that the views of Axelrod, the Organising Committee's official representative, are social-chauvinist. Neither in the press nor in its correspondence has *Nashe Slovo* made any reply to this. We have pointed out that the Bund's stand is the same, with a bias towards Germanophile chauvinism. The Nervi resolution has born this out in a manner which, if indirect, is highly significant: it has declared that unification of internationalists *alone* is harmful and schismatic. The question has been presented with a clarity that is most praiseworthy.

Still clearer is the Organising Committee's reply, which expresses, not an oblique attitude towards the issue, but one that is straightforward and formal. We must confer, it says, not *without* the social-patriots, but *with them*.

We should be thankful to the Organising Committee for its letter to *Nashe Slovo*, confirming the correctness of our opinion of that body.

Does that mean that *Nashe Slovo's entire idea* of uniting the internationalists has been wrecked? No, it does not. While there exist ideological solidarity and a sincere desire to combat social-patriotism, no failure of any conferences can check unity among internationalists. At the disposal of the editors of *Nashe Slovo* is the great instrument of a daily paper. They can do something immeasurably more business-like and serious than calling conferences and issuing declarations; they can invite *all* groups, and themselves start: (I) to immediately evolve full, precise, unequivocal and perfectly clear definitions of the content of internationalism (it being a fact that Vandervelde, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Lensch, and Haenisch also call themselves internatiollalists!), of opportunism, the collapse of the Second International, the tasks and the methods of combating social-patriotism, etc.; (2) to rally forces for a severe struggle for certain principles, not only abroad, but mainly in Russia.

Indeed, can anyone deny that there is no *other* way towards the victory of internationalism over social-patriotism, and that there can be none? Half a century of Russian political emigration (and thirty years of *Social-Democratic* emigration)—have these not shown that all declarations,

conferences, etc., abroad are powerless, insignificant, and empty, *unless* they are supported by a *lasting* movement of some social stratum in Russia? Does not the present war also teach us that everything that is immature or decaying, everything that is conventional or diplomatic, will collapse at the first blow?

During the eight months of war, *all* Social-Democratic centres, groups, currents, and shades of opinion have held conferences with all and sundry, and have come out with "declarations", i.e., made their opinions known to the public. Today the task is different, and *closer to action*: more distrust of *resonant* declarations and *spectacular* conferences; more energy in evolving precise replies and advice to writers, propagandists, agitators, and all thinking workers, written in a way that *cannot but be* understood; more clarity and purposefulness in mustering the forces for a long-term effort to give effect to such advice.

Much has been given to the editors of *Nashe Slovo*—after all, they are a daily paper!— and they will have much to answer for if they fail to carry out even this "minimum programme".

A final remark: in May 1910, exactly five years ago, we made mention, in our press abroad, of a highly outstanding political fact, of "far greater significance" than the conferences and declarations of many *very* "powerful" Social-Democratic centres, i.e., the fact of the formation in Russia of a group of legalist writers working in the *selfsame XYZ* journal. What has been shown by the *facts* during these five years, so eventful in the history of the labour movement in Russia and the whole world? Have not the facts shown that in Russia we have a certain *social* nucleus to rally the elements of a *national liberal-labour party* (after the "European" pattern)? What are the conclusions forced on all Social-Democrats by the circumstance that, with the exception of *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*,[109] we see, in Russia, the *open* expression *only* of this current, *Nashe Dyelo*, *Strakhovaniye Rabochikh*, *Severny Golos*,"[110] Maslov and Plekhanov?

So we repeat: more distrust of resonant declarations, and more courage in facing grave political realities.

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BOURGEOIS PHILANTHROPISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The Economist,[111] a journal that speaks for the British millionaires, is pursuing a very instructive line in relation to the war. Representatives of advanced capital in the oldest and richest capitalist country, are shedding tears over the war and incessantly voicing a wish for peace. Those Social-Democrats who, together with the opportunists and Kautsky, think that a socialist programme consists in the propaganda of peace, will find proof of their error if they read *The Economist*. Their programme is not socialist, but bourgeois-pacifist. Dreams of peace, without propaganda of revolutionary action, express only a horror of war, but have nothing in common with socialism.

Moreover, *The Economist* stands for peace just because it is afraid of revolution. For instance, its issue for February 13, 1915, contains the following passage:

"Philanthropists profess to hope that the peace settlement will bring with it a great international reduction of armies.... But those who know the forces which really control the diplomacy of Europe see no Utopias. The outlook is for bloody revolutions and fierce wars between labour and capital, or between the masses and the governing classes of Continental Europe...."

In the issue of March 27, 1915, we again find expression of a desire for a peace that will guarantee freedom of nationalities, etc., as promised by Sir Edward Grey. If this hope is not realised, the paper says, the war "will end in revolutionary chaos, beginning no one can say where, and ending in no one can say what".

The British pacifist millionaires have a better understanding of present-day politics than the opportunists, the

PRIMARK FORMAT NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

followers of Kautsky and similar socialist whimperers after peace. The bourgeois know, first, that phrases about a democratic peace are an idle and foolish Utopia while the old "forces ... really control the diplomacy", i.e., until the class of capitalists has been expropriated. Secondly, the bourgeoisie have made a sober appraisal of the outlook, foreseeing "bloody revolutions" and "revolutionary chaos". To the bourgeoisie a socialist revolution always seems "revolutionary chaos".

In the realistic politics of the capitalist countries, three kinds of peace sympathies can be seen:

(1) The more enlightened millionaires wish an early peace because they are afraid of revolutions. They have soberly and correctly described any "democratic" peace (without annexations, but with limited armaments, etc.) as Utopian under capitalism.

This philistine Utopia is being advocated by the opportunists, the adherents of Kautsky, and the like.

(2) The unenlightened masses of the people (the petty bourgeois, semi-proletarians, part of the workers, etc.) whose desire for peace is very vague, are thereby expressing a growing protest against the war and a growing but as yet vague revolutionary sentiment.

(3) The revolutionary Social-Democrats, the enlightened advance guard of the proletariat, are attentively studying the sentiments of the masses, utilising the latter's growing striving for peace, not in order to bolster the vulgar utopias of a "democratic" peace under capitalism, not in order to encourage hopes being placed in the philanthropists, the authorities, and the bourgeoisie, but to bring clarity into vague revolutionary sentiments, to enlighten the masses with a thousand facts of pre-war politics; basing that work on the experience of the masses and on their sentiments, they are out to *prove* systematically, steadfastly and unswervingly the need for mass revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie and the governments of their respective countries as the *only* road towards democracy and socialism.

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THE COLLAPSE OF PLATONIC INTERNATIONALISM

We have already pointed out (see *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 41)* that *Nashe Slovo* should at least come out with a definite platform if it wishes its internationalism to be taken seriously. As though in reply to us, No. 85 of *Nashe Slovo* (May 9) published the resolution passed at a meeting of its Paris staff and contributors. "Two members of the editorial staff," we are informed, "while in agreement with the general content of the resolution, declared they would submit a dissenting opinion on the organisational methods of the Party's internal policy in Russia." This resolution is a most noteworthy document of political bewilderment and ineptness.

The word internationalism is reiterated time and again "complete ideological divorcement from all the varieties of socialist nationalism" is announced, and the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions are quoted. The intentions are of the best, no doubt, but—it is all a mere phrase, since it is impossible and unnecessary to have a really "complete" divorcement from "all" extant varieties of social-nationalism, just as it is impossible and unnecessary to have a complete list of all the varieties of capitalist exploitation in order to become an enemy of capitalism. But it is necessary and possible to have an unmistakable line of cleavage with the main varieties for instance, with that of Plekhanov, Potresov (*Nashe Dyelo*), the Bund, Axelrod, and Kautsky. The resolution promises too much, but gives nothing; it threatens a complete cleavage with all varieties, but is afraid to mention by name at least the most significant of them.

In the British Parliament it is considered a discourtesy to call a man by his name, the practice being to speak only

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* See pp. 188-91 of this volume.—*Ed.*

of the respective "Noble Lord" or of the "Honourable Member" for whatever constituency he may represent. What excellent Anglomaniacs, what highly refined diplomats these *Nashe Slovo* people are! They evade the gist of the issue so gracefully, and are so polite when they provide their readers with formulas that serve to conceal their thoughts. They avow "friendship" ("Guizot in the flesh", as one of Turgenev's characters puts it[112]) for all organisations "inasmuch as they apply ... the principles of revolutionary internationalism", but manifest "friendship" for those who do not apply those principles.

The "ideological divorcement" the *Nashe Slovo* people proclaim the more solemnly, the less willing and able they are to carry it out, must consist in explaining the *origin* of social-nationalism, the *source* of its strength, and the *means* to combat it. The social-nationalists do not call themselves, and do not admit to being, social-nationalists. They are bending, and are compelled to bend, every effort to hide behind a pseudonym, to throw dust in the eyes of the working masses, to cover up the traces of their links with opportunism, to conceal their betrayal, i.e., their having gone over in fact to the side of the bourgeoisie, and their alliance with the governments and the General Staffs. Grounding themselves on this alliance, and in control of all the important positions, the social-nationalists are, more than anybody else, clamouring for "unity" between the Social-Democratic parties and levelling the accusation of splitting tendencies, against all those who are opposed to opportunism. Consider, for instance, the latest official circular released by the Executive (*Vorstand*) of the German Social-Democratic Party and directed against journals that stand for *genuine* internationalism—*Lichtstrahlen*[113] and *Die Internationale*[114]. These journals did not have to avow either "friendship" for the revolutionaries or "complete ideological divorcement from all varieties of social-nationalism". They just began with the divorcement, and did that in such a way that indeed "*all* varieties" of opportunists have raised a savage outcry, thus proving how squarely the arrows have hit the mark.

But what about *Nashe Slovo*?

It is rising up against social-nationalism, while still on bended knees before it, since it has failed to unmask the most

dangerous defenders of this bourgeois current (such as Kautsky); it has not declared war against opportunism, but on the contrary, has kept silent about it; it has not taken or indicated any real steps towards liberating socialism from its disgraceful patriotic fetters. By stating that neither unity nor a break with those who joined the bourgeoisie is imperative, *Nashe Slovo* has in fact surrendered to the opportunists, while at the same time making a fine gesture, which can be interpreted as meaning either that it is threatening the opportunists with its dreadful ire, or that it is waving a hand to them. Were the really deft opportunists, who have a fine appreciation of a blend of Left phrases and moderate practice, compelled to make reply to the *Nashe Slovo* resolution, they would most probably say something similar to the statement made by the two staff members, namely, that they are in agreement with the "general content" (because they are certainly not social-nationalists, Oh, no!); as for the "organisational methods of the Party's internal policy" they will, in due course, submit, a "dissenting opinion". They run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

When it had to deal with Russia, however, *Nashe Slovo*'s subtle diplomacy proved abortive.

"Party unification in the conditions of the previous period proved impossible in Russia," says the resolution, which should be understood as meaning that unification of the working-class party with a group of legalist liquidators proved impossible. This is oblique recognition of the collapse of the Brussels bloc, which was formed to save the liquidators. Why is *Nashe Slovo* afraid openly to recognise this collapse? Why is it afraid openly to make the causes of this collapse clear to the workers? Is it not because the bloc's collapse has proved the actual falseness of the policy pursued by all its members? Is it not because *Nashe Slovo* wishes to preserve "friendship" with two (at least two) "varieties" of social-nationalism, namely, with the Bundists and the Organising Committee (Axelrod) both of whom have made press statements about their plans and their hopes to resurrect the Brussels bloc?

"The new conditions ... are cutting the ground from under the feet of the old groups...."

Is not the reverse true? Far from eliminating liquidationism, the new conditions have not even shaken its basic

nucleus (*Nasha Zarya*), notwithstanding all personal vacillations and changes of front. They have deepened and aggravated differences with that nucleus, since, besides being liquidationist, it has also turned social-nationalist! *Nashe Slovo* evades the question of liquidationism, which it finds so unpleasant; the old is being undermined by the new, it asserts, but it is silent about the *new ground*, the social-nationalist, *under the feet of the old* ... liquidationism! What ridiculous shiftiness! We shall say nothing about *Nasha Zarya* because it is no more, and nothing about *Nashe Dyelo*, probably because Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov and Co. may be regarded in the political sense, as babes in arms.

It is not only Potresov and Co., but themselves as well that the *Nashe Slovo* editors would regard as babes in arms. Listen to this:

"Faced by the fact that the factional and inter-factional groupings created in the past serve, even at the present transitional moment, as the only [!] centres for the organisational unification, however imperfect, of the advanced workers, *Nashe Slovo* is of the opinion that the interests of its main activities in uniting the internationalists exclude both organisational submission of the paper, directly or indirectly, to any one of the old party groupings, and artificial unification of its fellow-thinkers into a separate group politically opposed to the old groupings."

What does this mean? How is it to be taken? *Inasmuch as* the new conditions are undermining the old groupings, they recognise the latter as the *only* genuine ones! *Inasmuch as* the new conditions demand a new grouping, not on liquidationist principles, but on internationalism, they reject as "artificial" any unification of internationalists. This is the very acme of political impotence!

After two hundred days of propaganda of internationalism, *Nashe Slovo* has acknowledged its complete political bankruptcy. It wants neither "submission" to the old groupings (why so fear-stricken a word as "submission"? Why not "adhesion", "support", "solidarity with"?), nor the creation of new ones. We shall go on living in the old way, it says, in liquidationist groupings; we shall "submit" to them, while using *Nashe Slovo* as a blatant signboard, or regarding it as a promenade through the leafy gardens of

internationalist phraseology. The *Nashe Slovo* writers will do the writing, while *Nashe Slovo* readers will do the reading.[115]

For two hundred days these people were talking of uniting the internationalists, only to arrive at conclusion that they could unite nobody, not even themselves, the editors and staff of *Nashe Slovo*, and to proclaim that unification "artificial". What a fillip for Potresov, the Bundists, and Axelrod! And what adroit deception of the workers! On the surface, resonant internationalist phrases from a truly non-factional *Nashe Slovo* that has thrown off the old and outworn groupings; in fact, however, the old groupings are the "only" points of unity.

Nashe Slovo's ideological and political bankruptcy which it now admits, is no accident, but the inevitable result of vain attempts to shrug off, in word, the actual alignment of forces. In the working-class movement of Russia this alignment expresses itself in the struggle of the liquidationist and social-patriotic trend (*Nashe Dyelo*) against the Marxist Social-Democratic Labour Party, which has been restored by the January 1912 Conference,[116] strengthened by the elections, in the worker curia, to the Fourth Duma, consolidated by the Pravdist papers of 1912-14, and represented by the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma. This Party *has continued* its struggle against the bourgeois trend of liquidationism by combating the no less bourgeois trend of social-patriotism. The correctness of the line of this Party, our Party, has been borne out by the vast and historic experience of the European war, and by the exiguous and slender experience of the latest, the one thousand and first non-factional attempt at unification on the part of *Nashe Slovo*: this attempt has suffered a fiasco, thereby confirming the resolution of the Berne Conference (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40) concerning "platonic" internationalists.*

Genuine internationalists will wish neither to remain in the old liquidationist groupings (concealing this from the workers) nor to stand outside of the groupings. They will come to our Party.

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* See pp. 163-64 of this volume.—*Ed.*

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

The most interesting and most recent material for this topical problem has been provided by the International Conference of Socialist Women, which adjourned recently in Berne.[117] The readers will find below an account of the Conference and the texts of two resolutions—the one adopted and the one rejected. In the present article we would like to discuss only one aspect of the question.

Representatives of the women's organisations attached to the Organising Committee; women members of Troelstra's party in Holland; women from the Swiss organisations that are hostile to *Berner Tagwacht* for its allegedly excessive Leftist leanings; the French representative, who is unwilling to disagree on any important point with the official party, which is known to adhere to the social-chauvinist point of view; the women of Britain, who are hostile to the idea of a clear line of division between pacifism and revolutionary proletarian tactics—all these agreed with the "Left" German Social-Democrat women on one resolution. The representatives of women's organisations connected with our Party's Central Committee disagreed with them, preferring to remain in isolation for the time being rather than join a bloc of *this* kind.

What is the gist of this disagreement? What principles and general political significance are involved in this conflict?

At first glance, the middle-of-the-road resolution, which has united the opportunists and part of the Left wing looks very fitting and correct in principle. The war has been declared an imperialist one, the "defence of the fatherland" idea has been condemned, the workers have been called

upon to hold mass demonstrations, etc., etc. It might seem that our resolution was different *only* in the use of several sharper *expressions* such as "betrayal", "opportunism" "withdrawal from bourgeois governments", etc.

It is undoubtedly from this standpoint that criticism will be levelled against the withdrawal of the representatives of the women's organisations connected with our Party's Central Committee.

However, if we give the matter more attention, without confining ourselves to a purely "formal" recognition of one truth or another, we will realise that such criticism is quite groundless.

Two world-outlooks, two appraisals of the war and the tasks of the International, two tactics of the proletarian parties clashed at the Conference. One view holds that there has been no collapse of the International; no deep and grave obstacles to a return from chauvinism to socialism; no strong "internal enemy" in the shape of opportunism; no direct and obvious betrayal of socialism by opportunism. The conclusion to be drawn might be worded as follows: let us condemn nobody; let us "amnesty" those who have violated the Stuttgart and the Basle resolutions; let us merely advise that the course followed should be more to the left and that the masses be called upon to hold demonstrations.

The other view is diametrically opposed to the former on each of the points enumerated above. Nothing is more harmful or more disastrous to the proletarian cause than a continuation of inner-Party *diplomacy* towards the opportunists and social-chauvinists. The majority resolution proved acceptable to the opportunist delegates and to the adherents of the present-day official parties just because it is imbued with the spirit of diplomacy. Such diplomacy is being used to throw dust in the eyes of the working masses, which *at present* are led by the official social-patriots. An absolutely erroneous and harmful idea is being inculcated upon the working masses, the idea that the present-day Social-Democratic parties, with their present Executives, *are capable of* changing their course from an erroneous to a correct one.

That is not the case. It is a most egregious and pernicious illusion. The present-day Social-Democratic parties and

their Executives are *incapable* of seriously changing their course. *In practice* everything will remain as before; the "Left" wishes expressed in the majority resolution will remain innocent wishes; an unerring political instinct prompted this in the adherents of Troelstra's party and of the present Executive of the French party, when they voted for such a resolution. It is only when it is most actively supported by the present Executives of the Social-Democratic parties that an appeal for mass demonstrations can acquire a serious and practical significance.

Can one expect such support? Obviously not. It is common knowledge that such an appeal will meet, not with support, but with stubborn (and mostly *covert*) resistance from the Executives.

If the workers were told this in a straightforward way, they would know the *truth*; they would know that to give *effect to* "Left" wishes, a radical change is necessary in the line of the Social-Democratic parties; a most stubborn struggle is necessary against the opportunists with their "Centrist" friends. As it is, the workers have been *lulled* by "Left" wishes, while the Conference *refused* to call by name, loudly and clearly, the evil which must be combated if those wishes are to be realised.

The diplomatic leaders, who are at present conducting a chauvinist policy within the Social-Democratic parties, will make excellent use of the weakness, the indecision and the insufficient clarity of the majority resolution. Astute parliamentarians that they are, they will distribute the roles among themselves: some of them will say that the "serious" arguments of Kautsky and Co. were not appreciated or analysed, and that therefore they must be discussed in a wider gathering; others will say, "Were we not right when we said that no deep-seated differences existed, if the women adherents of the Troelstra and Guesde-Sembat parties were able to agree with the Left-wing German women?"

The Women's Conference should not have aided Scheidemann, Haase, Kautsky, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Guesde, Sembat, Plekhanov and others to blunt the vigilance of the working masses. On the contrary, it should have tried to rouse them and declared a decisive war against opportunism. Only in that case would the result have been, not a hope

that the "leaders" named above would "reform", but a mustering of forces for an arduous and bitter struggle.

Consider the way the opportunists and the "Centrists" violated the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions. That is the *crux* of the matter. Try to visualise, clearly and without diplomacy, what has actually taken place.

Foreseeing war, the International convenes and unanimously decides, should war break out, to work "*to hasten the downfall of capitalism*"; to work in the spirit of the *Commune*, *of October and December 1905* (the exact words of the Basle resolution!); to work in a spirit that will consider it a "*crime*" if "the workers of one country shoot at the workers of another country".

A line of action in an internationalist, proletarian, and revolutionary spirit is indicated here with perfect clarity, a clarity that cannot be improved within the limits of legality.

Then war broke out—the very kind of war and exactly along the lines foreseen at Basle. The official parties acted in an absolutely contrary spirit: not like internationalists but like nationalists; not in a proletarian but in a bourgeois way; not in a revolutionary direction but in the direction of ultra-opportunism. If we say to the workers that this was downright *treachery* to the socialist cause, we thereby reject all evasions and subterfuges, all sophisms *à la* Kautsky and Axelrod. We clearly indicate the extent and the power of the evil; we clearly call for a struggle against that evil, not for conciliation with it.

What about the majority resolution? It does not contain a word of censure for the traitors, or a single word about opportunism, but merely a simple *repetition* of the ideas expressed in the Basle resolution! One might think that nothing serious has happened, that an accidental and minor error has been made which calls merely for a *repetition* of the old decision, or that a disagreement has arisen which is inconsequent and not of principle, and can be *papered over*!

This is downright *mockery of* the International's decisions, mockery of the workers. As a matter of fact, the social-chauvinists wish nothing else but a simple *repetition* of the old decisions, if only nothing changes in practice. This is, in fact, a tacit and hypocritically disguised *amnesty* for the social-chauvinist adherents of most of the present

parties. We know that there are many who would follow this path and confine themselves to several Left phrases. However, their road is not for us. We have followed *a different* road, and will go on following it; we want to help the working-class movement and the *actual* construction of a working class party, in the spirit of irreconcilability towards opportunism and social-chauvinism.

Part of the German women delegates seem to have been afraid of a very clear resolution, for reasons relating only to the *tempo* of the development of the struggle against chauvinism within a single party, namely, their own. Such reasoning was obviously out of place and erroneous, since the international resolution did not and could not deal with either the speed or the concrete conditions of the struggle against social-chauvinism within the *individual* countries; in this respect, the autonomy of the various parties is beyond dispute. The proclamation was needed, from an international tribune, of an irrevocable break with social-chauvinism in the entire direction and character of Social-Democratic work. Instead of that, the majority resolution once more reiterated the old error, that of the Second International, which diplomatically veiled opportunism and the gap between word and deed. We repeat: *this* is a road we shall not take.

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THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Written in the second half of May
and the first half of June 1915

Published in 1915 in the
journal *Kommunist* No. 1-2
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to
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The collapse of the International is sometimes taken to mean simply the formal aspect of the matter, namely, the interruption in international communication between the socialist parties of the belligerent countries, the impossibility of converting either an international conference or the International Socialist Bureau, etc. This is the point of view held by certain socialists in the small neutral countries, probably even by the majority of the official parties in those countries, and also by the opportunists and their defenders. With a frankness that deserves profound gratitude, this position was defended in the Russian press by Mr. V. Kosovsky, in No. 8 of the Bund's *Information Bulletin*, whose editors said nothing to indicate that they disagreed with the author. Let us hope that Mr. Kosovsky's defence of nationalism, in which he went so far as to justify the German Social-Democrats who voted for war credits, will help many a worker at last to realise the bourgeois-nationalist-character of the Bund.

To the class-conscious workers, socialism is a serious conviction, not a convenient screen to conceal petty-bourgeois conciliatory and nationalist-oppositional strivings. By the collapse of the International they understand the disgraceful treachery to their convictions which was displayed by most of the official Social-Democratic parties, treachery to the most solemn declarations in their speeches at the Stuttgart and Basle international congresses, and in the resolutions of these congresses, etc. Only those can fail to see this treachery who *do not wish* to do so or do not find it to their advantage to see it. If we would formulate the question in a scientific fashion, i.e., from the standpoint of class relations in modern society, we will have to state that most of the Social-Democratic parties, and at their head the German Party

first and foremost—the biggest and most influential party in the Second International—have taken sides with their General Staffs, their governments, and their bourgeoisie, against the proletariat. This is an event of historic importance, one that calls for a most comprehensive analysis. It has long been conceded that, for all the horror and misery they entail, wars bring at least the following more or less important benefit—they ruthlessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is corrupt, outworn and dead in human institutions. The European war of 1914-15 is doubtlessly beginning to do some good by revealing to the advanced class of the civilised countries what a foul and festering abscess has developed within its parties, and what an unbearably putrid stench comes from some source.

I

Is it a fact that the principal socialist parties of Europe have forsaken all their convictions and tasks? This, of course, is something that is readily discussed neither by the traitors nor those who are fully aware—or surmise—that they will have to be friendly and tolerant towards them. However unpleasant that may be to various "authorities" in the Second International or to their fellow-thinkers among the Russian Social-Democrats, we must face the facts and call things by their right names; we must tell the workers the truth.

Do any facts exist that show how the socialist parties regarded their tasks and their tactics before the present war and in anticipation of it? They undoubtedly do. There was the resolution adopted at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912, which we are reprinting together with the resolution adopted at the Chemnitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party held in the same year,[118] as a reminder of socialism's forgotten ideals. This resolution, which summarises the vast anti-war propagandist and agitational literature in all countries, is a most complete and precise, a most solemn and formal exposition of socialist views on war and tactics towards war. One cannot but qualify as treachery the fact that none of the authorities of yesterday's

International and of today's social-chauvinism—neither Hyndman and Guesde, nor Kautsky and Plekhanov—dare remind their readers of that resolution. They are either silent about it, or (like Kautsky) quote excerpts of secondary importance and evade everything that is really of significance. On the one hand, the most "Left" and arch-revolutionary resolutions, and on the other, the most shameless forgetfulness or renunciation of these resolutions—this is one of the most striking manifestations of the International's collapse, and at the same time a most convincing proof that at present only those whose rare simplicity borders on a cunning desire to perpetuate the former hypocrisy can believe that socialism can be "rectified" and "its line straightened out" by means of resolutions alone.

Only yesterday, one might say, when, before the war, Hyndman turned towards a defence of imperialism, all "respectable" socialists considered him an unbalanced crank, of whom nobody spoke otherwise than in a tone of disdain. Today the most prominent Social-Democratic leaders of all countries have sunk entirely to Hyndman's position, differing from one another only in shades of opinion and in temperament. We are quite unable to find some more or less suitable parliamentary expression in appraising or characterising the civic courage of such persons as, for instance, the *Nashe Slovo* authors, who write of "Mr." Hyndman with contempt, while speaking—or saying nothing—of "Comrade" Kautsky with deference (or obsequiousness?). Can such an attitude be reconciled with a respect for socialism, and for one's convictions in general? If you are convinced that Hyndman's chauvinism is false and destructive, does it not follow that you should direct your criticism and attacks against Kautsky, the *more influential* and more dangerous defender of such views?

In perhaps greater detail than anywhere else, Guesde's views have recently been expressed by the Guesdist Charles Dumas, in a pamphlet entitled *The Peace That We Desire*. This "Chef du Cabinet de Jules Guesde", as he styles himself on the title-page of the pamphlet, naturally "quotes" the former patriotic declarations of the socialists (David, the German social-chauvinist, does the same in his latest pamphlet on defence of the fatherland), but he fails to refer to the

Basle Manifesto! Plekhanov, who utters chauvinist banalities with an extraordinarily smug air, is likewise silent on the Manifesto. Kautsky behaves just like Plekhanov: in quoting from the Basle Manifesto, he *omits* all the revolutionary passages (i.e., all the vital content!), probably on the pretext of the censorship regulations.... The police and the military authorities, whose censorship regulations forbid any mention of the class struggle or revolution, have rendered timely aid to the traitors to socialism!

Perhaps the Basle Manifesto is just an empty appeal, which is devoid of any definite content, either historical or tactical, with a direct bearing on the concrete war of today?

The reverse is true. The Basle resolution has less idle declamation and more definite content than other resolutions have. The Basle resolution speaks of the *very same* war that has now broken out, of the *imperialist* conflicts that have flared up in 1914-15. The conflicts between Austria and Serbia over the Balkans, between Austria and Italy over Albania, etc., between Britain and Germany over markets and colonies in general, between Russia and Turkey, etc., over Armenia and Constantinople—all this is what the Basle resolution speaks of in anticipation of the present war. It follows from that resolution that the *present* war between "the Great Powers of Europe" "*cannot be justified on the slightest pretext of being in the least in the interests of the people*".

And if Plekhanov and Kautsky—to take two of the most typical and authoritative socialists, who are well known to us, one of whom writes in Russian while the other is translated into Russian by the liquidators are now (with the aid of Axelrod) seeking all sorts of "popular justifications" for the war (or, rather, vulgar ones taken from the bourgeois gutter press) if, with a learned mien and with a stock of false quotations from Marx, they refer to "precedents", to the wars of 1813 and 1870 (Plekhanov), or of 1854-71, 1876-77, 1897 (Kautsky), then, in truth, only those without a shadow of socialist conviction, without a shred of socialist conscience, can take such arguments in earnest, can *fail* to call them otherwise than unparalleled Jesuitism, hypocrisy and the prostitution of socialism! Let the Executive (*Vorstand*) of the German Party anathematise Mehring and Rosa Luxem-

burg's new magazine (*Die Internationale*) for its honest criticism of Kautsky; let Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Hyndman and Co. treat their opponents in the same manner, with the aid of the police of the Allied Powers. We shall reply by simply reprinting the Basle Manifesto, which will show that the leaders have chosen a course that can only be called treachery.

The Basle resolution does not speak of a national or a people's war—examples of which have occurred in Europe, wars that were even typical of the period of 1789-1871—or of a revolutionary war, which Social-Democrats have never renounced, but of the *present* war, which is the outcome of "capitalist imperialism" and "dynastic interests", the outcome of "the policy of conquest" pursued by *both* groups of belligerent powers—the Austro-German and the Anglo-Franco-Russian. Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. are flagrantly deceiving the workers by repeating the selfish lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries, which is striving with all its might to depict this imperialist and predatory war for colonies as a people's war, a war of defence (for any side); when they seek to justify this war by citing historical examples of *non*-imperialist wars.

The question as to the imperialist, predatory and anti-proletarian character of the present war has long outgrown the purely theoretical stage. All the main features of imperialism have been theoretically assessed, as a struggle being waged by the senile and moribund bourgeoisie for the partition of the world and the enslavement of "small" nations; these conclusions have been repeated thousands of times in the vast socialist press in *all* countries; in his pamphlet *The Impending War* (*1911!*), for example, the Frenchman Delaisi, a representative of one of our "Allied" nations, has explained in simple terms the predatory character of the present war, with reference to the French bourgeoisie as well. But that is far from all. At Basle, representatives of the proletarian parties of all countries gave unanimous and formal expression to their unshakable conviction that a war of an imperialist character was impending, and drew *tactical* conclusions therefrom. For this reason, among others, we must flatly reject, as sophistry, all references to an inadequate discussion on the difference between national and international tactics

(see Axelrod's latest interview in *Nashe Slovo* Nos. 87 and 90), etc., etc. This is sophistry, because a comprehensive scientific analysis of imperialism is one thing—that analysis is only under way and, in essence, is as infinite as science itself. The principles of socialist tactics against capitalist imperialism, which have been set forth in millions of copies of Social-Democratic newspapers and in the decision of the International, are a quite different thing. Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organisations of the fighting proletariat; when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors; we must not allow ourselves to be taken in by hypocritical assertions that "not everybody understands imperialism in the same way", or that the chauvinist Kautsky and the chauvinist Cunow can write volumes about it, or that the question has not been "adequately discussed", etc., etc. Capitalism will *never* be completely and *exhaustively* studied in *all* the manifestations of its predatory nature, and in all the most minute ramifications of its historical development and national features. Scholars (and especially the pedants) will never stop arguing over-details. It would be ridiculous to give up the socialist struggle against capitalism and to desist from opposing, on such grounds, those who have betrayed that struggle. But what else are Kautsky, Cunow, Axelrod and their like inviting us to do?

Now, when war has broken out, no one has even attempted to examine the Basle resolution and prove that it is erroneous.

II

But perhaps sincere socialists supported the Basle resolution in the anticipation that war would create a revolutionary situation, the events rebutting them, as revolution has proved impossible?

It is by means of sophistry like this that Cunow (in a pamphlet *Collapse of the Party?* and a series of articles) has tried to justify his desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie. The writings of nearly all the other social-chauvinists, headed by Kautsky, hint at similar "arguments". Hopes for a revolution have proved illusory, and it is not

the business of a Marxist to fight for illusions, Cunow argues. This Struvist,[119] however, does not say a word about "illusions" that were shared by all signatories to the Basle Manifesto. Like a most upright man, he would put the blame on the extreme Leftists, such as Pannekoek and Radek!

Let us consider the substance of the argument that the authors of the Basle Manifesto sincerely expected the advent of a revolution, but were rebutted by the events. The Basle Manifesto says: (1) that war will create an economic and political crisis; (2) that the workers will regard their participation in war as a crime, and as criminal any "shooting each other down for the profit of the capitalists, for the sake of dynastic honour and of diplomatic secret treaties", and that war evokes "indignation and revolt" in the workers; (3) that it is the duty of socialists to take advantage of this crisis and of the workers' temper so as to "rouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism"; (4) that all "governments" without exception can start a war only at "their own peril"; (5) that governments '"are afraid of a proletarian revolution"; (6) that governments "should remember" the Paris Commune (i.e., civil war), the 1905 Revolution in Russia, etc. All these are perfectly clear ideas; they do not *guarantee* that revolution will take place, but lay stress on a precise characterisation of *facts* and *trends*. Whoever declares, with regard to these ideas and arguments, that the anticipated revolution has proved illusory, is displaying not a Marxist but a Struvist and police-renegade attitude towards revolution.

To the Marxist it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following three major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the "upper classes", a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for "the lower classes not to want" to live in the old

way; it is also necessary that "the upper classes should be unable" to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in "peace time", but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis *and by the "upper classes" themselves* into independent historical action.

Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible. The totality of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation. Such a situation existed in 1905 in Russia, and in all revolutionary periods in the West; it also existed in Germany in the sixties of the last century, and in Russia in 1859-61 and 1879-80, although no revolution occurred in these instances. Why was that? It was because it is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution; revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary *class* to take revolutionary mass action *strong* enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, "falls", if it is not toppled over.

Such are the Marxist views on revolution, views that have been developed many, many times, have been accepted as indisputable by all Marxists, and for us, Russians, were corroborated in a particularly striking fashion by the experience of 1905. What, then, did the Basle Manifesto assume in this respect in 1912, and what took place in 1914-15?

It assumed that a revolutionary situation, which it briefly described as "an economic and political crisis", would arise. Has such a situation arisen? Undoubtedly, it has. The social-chauvinist Lensch, who defends chauvinism more candidly, publicly and honestly than the hypocrites Cunow, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co. do, has gone so far as to say: "What we are passing through is a kind of *revolution*" (p. 6 of his pamphlet, *German Social-Democracy and the War*, Berlin, 1915). A political crisis exists; no government is sure of the morrow,

not one is secure against the danger of financial collapse, loss of territory, expulsion from its country (in the way the Belgian Government was expelled). All governments are sleeping on a volcano; all are *themselves* calling for the masses to display initiative and heroism. The entire political regime of Europe has been shaken, and hardly anybody will deny that we have entered (and are entering ever deeper—I write this on the day of Italy's declaration of war) a period of immense political upheavals. When, two months after the declaration of war, Kautsky wrote (October 2, 1914, in *Die Neue Zeit*) that "never is government so strong, never are parties so weak as at the outbreak of a war", this was a sample of the falsification of historical science which Kautsky has perpetrated to please the Südekums and other opportunists. In the first place, never do governments stand in such need of agreement with all the parties of the ruling classes, or of the "peaceful" submission of the oppressed classes to that rule, as in the time of war. Secondly, even though "at the beginning of a war", and especially in a country that expects a speedy victory, the government *seems* all-powerful, nobody in the world has ever linked expectations of a revolutionary situation exclusively with the "beginning" of a war, and still less has anybody ever identified the "seeming" with the *actual*.

It was generally known, seen and admitted that a European war would be more severe than any war in the past. This is being borne out in ever greater measure by the experience of the war. The conflagration is spreading; the political foundations of Europe are being shaken more and more; the sufferings of the masses are appalling, the efforts of governments, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to hush up these sufferings proving ever more futile. The war profits being obtained by certain groups of capitalists are monstrously high, and contradictions are growing extremely acute. The smouldering indignation of the masses, the vague yearning of society's downtrodden and ignorant strata for a kindly ("democratic") peace, the beginning of discontent among the "lower classes"—all these are facts. The longer the war drags on and the more acute it becomes, the more the governments themselves foster—and must foster—the activity of the masses, whom they call upon to make extraordinary effort and

self-sacrifice. The experience of the war, like the experience of any crisis in history, of any great calamity and any sudden turn in human life, stuns and breaks some people, *but enlightens and tempers others*. Taken by and large, and considering the history of the world as a whole, the number and strength of the second kind of people have—with the exception of individual cases of the decline and fall of one state or another—proved greater than those of the former kind.

Far from "immediately" ending all these sufferings and all this enhancement of contradictions, the conclusion of peace will, in many respects, make those sufferings more keenly and immediately felt by the most backward masses of the population.

In a word, a revolutionary situation obtains in most of the advanced countries and the Great Powers of Europe. In this respect, the prediction of the Basle Manifesto has been *fully* confirmed. To deny this truth, directly or indirectly, or to ignore it, as Cunow, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. have done, means telling a big lie, deceiving the working class, and serving the bourgeoisie. In *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Nos. 34, 40 and 41)* we cited facts which prove that those who *fear* revolution—petty-bourgeois Christian parsons, the General Staffs and millionaires' newspapers—are compelled to admit that symptoms of a revolutionary situation exist in Europe.

Will this situation last long; how much more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by the *experience* gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about "illusions" or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over

* See pp. 92-93, 181-82 and 192-93 of this volume.—*Ed.*

to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organisations suited to the revolutionary situation.

No influential or responsible socialist has ever dared to feel doubt that this is the duty of the socialist parties. Without spreading or harbouring the least "illusions", the Basle Manifesto spoke specifically of this duty of the socialists—to rouse and to stir up the people (and not to lull them with chauvinism, as Plekhanov, Axelrod and Kautsky have done), to take advantage of the crisis so as to *hasten* the downfall of capitalism, and to be guided by the *examples* of the Commune and of October-December 1905. The present parties' failure to perform that duty meant their treachery, political death, renunciation of their own role and desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie.

III

But how *could* it have happened that the most prominent representatives and leaders of the Second International have betrayed socialism? We shall deal with this question in detail later, after we have examined the attempts being made to give this treachery "theoretical" justification. We shall try to characterise the principal theories of social-chauvinism, of which Plekhanov (who in the main reiterates the arguments of the Anglo-French chauvinists, Hyndman and his new adherents) and Kautsky (who advances much more "subtle" arguments) with their semblance of far greater theoretical profundity may be regarded as representatives.

Perhaps the most primitive of these is the "who-started-it?" theory, which may be worded as follows: we have been attacked and are defending ourselves; the interests of the proletariat demand that the violators of the peace in Europe should be properly dealt with. This is merely a rehash of the declarations made by all governments and of the outcries of the bourgeois and the gutter press all over the world. Plekhanov embellishes even this threadbare piece of vulgarity with his inevitable Jesuitical reference to "dialectics": to be able to assess the concrete situation, he says, we must first of all find out who started it and punish him; all other problems will have to wait until another situation arises. (See Plekhanov's pamphlet, *The War*, Paris, 1914, and Axel-

rod's repetition of its arguments, in (*Golos* Nos. 86 and 87.) Plekhanov has set a new record in the noble sport of substituting sophistry for dialectics. The sophist grabs at one of many "arguments"; it was Hegel who long ago very properly observed that "arguments" can be found to prove anything in the world. Dialectics calls for a many-sided investigation into a given social phenomenon in its development, and for the external and the seeming to be reduced to the fundamental motive forces, to the development of the productive forces and to the class struggle. Plekhanov has plucked out a quotation from the German Social-Democratic press: the Germans themselves, before the war, admitted that Austria and Germany had "started it", he says, and there you are. He does not mention the fact that the Russian socialists repeatedly exposed the tsarist plans of conquest of Galicia, Armenia, etc. He does not make the slightest attempt to study the economic and diplomatic history of at least the past three decades, which history proves conclusively that the conquest of colonies, the looting of foreign countries, the ousting and ruining of the more successful rivals have been the backbone of the politics of *both* groups of the now belligerent powers.*

* Very instructive is *The War of Steel and Gold* (London 1914, a book dated March 1914!) by the British pacifist Brailsford, who is not averse to posing as a socialist. The author clearly realises that national problems are now in the background, and have been solved (p. 35), that this is not the issue of the day, that "the typical question of modern diplomacy" (p. 36) is the Baghdad railway, the contracts for rails for it, the Moroccan mines, and the like. The author correctly considers as one of the "most instructive incidents in the recent history of European diplomacy" the fact that French patriots and British imperialists fought against Caillaux's attempts (in 1911 and 1913) to come to terms with Germany on the basis of an agreement on the division of spheres of colonial influence and the quotation of German securities on the Paris Bourse. The *British* and the *French* bourgeoisie *frustrated* such an agreement (pp. 38-40). The aim of imperialism is the export of capital to the weaker countries (p. 74). In Britain, the profits from such capital totalled between £90,000,000 and £100,000,000 in 1899 (Giffen), and £140,000,000 in 1909 (Paish); we would add that, in a recent speech, Lloyd George calculated it at £200,000,000, which is almost 2,000 million rubles. Unsavoury machinations and bribing of high-ranking Turks, and cushy jobs in India and Egypt for the younger sons of the British aristocracy, such are the main features (pp. 85-87). An insignificant minority gains from armaments and wars, he says, but that minority is backed by "society" and the financiers, whereas behind the adherents

With reference to wars, the main thesis of dialectics, which has been so shamelessly distorted by Plekhanov to please the bourgeoisie, is that "*war is simply the continuation of politics by other* [i.e., violent] *means*". Such is the formula of Clausewitz,* one of the greatest writers on the history of war, whose thinking was stimulated by Hegel. And it was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who regarded *any* war as the *continuation* of the politics of the powers concerned—and the *various classes* within these countries—in a definite period.

Plekhanov's crude chauvinism is based on exactly the same theoretical stand as the more subtle and saccharo-conciliatory chauvinism of Kautsky, who uses the following arguments when he gives his blessing to the desertion of the socialists of all countries to the side of their "own" capitalists:

> It is the right and duty of everyone to defend his fatherland; true internationalism consists in this right being recognised for the socialists of all nations, including those who are at war with my nation.... (See *Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914, and other works by the same author.)

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of peace there is a disunited population (p. 93). A pacifist who today talks about peace and disarmament tomorrow proves to be a member of a party wholly dependent on the war contractors (p. 161). If the Triple Entente wins, it will grab Morocco and partition Persia; if the Triple Alliance wins, it will take over Tripoli, strengthen its hold on Bosnia and subordinate Turkey (p. 167). In March 1906, London and Paris provided Russia with thousands of millions, and helped tsarism crush the movement for freedom (pp. 225-28); today Britain is helping Russia to throttle Persia (p. 229). Russia instigated the Balkan War (p. 230).

There is nothing novel about this, is there? All this is common knowledge and has been reiterated a thousand times in Social-Democratic newspapers all over the world. On the eve of the war, a British bourgeois sees all this as clearly as can be. Against the background of these simple and universally known facts, what drivelling nonsense, what smug hypocrisy, what glib lies are the theories advanced by Plekhanov and Potresov concerning Germany's guilt, or Kautsky's theory concerning the "prospects" of disarmament and a lasting peace under capitalism!

* Karl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Werke, I. Bd., S. 28. Cf. III. Bd., S. 139-40: "All know that wars are caused only by the political relations of governments and of nations; but ordinarily one pictures the situation as if, with the beginning of the war, these relations cease and a totally new situation is created, which follows its own laws. We assert, on the contrary, that war is nothing but the continuation of political relations, with the intervention of other means."

This matchless reasoning is such an unutterable travesty of socialism that the best answer to it would be to strike a medal with the portraits of Wilhelm II and Nicholas II on one side and of Plekhanov and Kautsky on the other. True internationalism, we are told, means that we must justify German workers firing at French workers, and French workers firing at German workers, in the name of "defence of the fatherland"!

However, closer examination of the theoretical premises in Kautsky's reasoning will reveal the selfsame idea that Clausewitz ridiculed about eighty years ago, viz., that when war breaks out, all historically created political relations between nations and classes cease and that a totally new situation arises! There are "simply" those that attack and those that are defending themselves, "simply" the warding off of the "enemies of the fatherland"! The oppression of a number of nations which comprise over half the population of the globe, by the dominant imperialist nations; the rivalry between the bourgeoisie of these countries for a share of the loot; the desire of the capitalists to split and suppress the working-class movement—all these have suddenly disappeared from the pen of Plekhanov and Kautsky, although they themselves were describing these very "politics" for decades before the war.

In this connection, false references to Marx and Engels are the crowning argument of these two chieftains of social-chauvinism; Plekhanov recalls Prussia's national war of 1813 and Germany's national war of 1870, while Kautsky argues, with a most learned air, that Marx examined the question of whose success (i.e., the success of which bourgeoisie) was more desirable in the wars of 1854-55, 1859 and 1870-71, and that the Marxists did likewise in the wars of 1876-77 and 1897. In all times the sophists have been in the habit of citing instances that refer to situations that are dissimilar in principle. The wars of the past, to which they make references, were a "continuation of the politics" of the bourgeoisie's national movements of many years' standing, movements against an alien yoke and against absolutism (Turkish or Russian). At that time the only question was: the success of which bourgeoisie was to be preferred; for wars of this type, the Marxists could *rouse* the peoples *in advance*,

fostering national hatred, as Marx did in 1848 and later, when he called for a war against Russia, and as Engels in 1859 fostered German national hatred of their oppressors—Napoleon III and Russian tsarism.*

Comparing the "continuation of the politics" of combating feudalism and absolutism—the politics of the bourgeoisie in its struggle for liberty—with the "continuation of the politics" of a decrepit, *i.e.*, imperialist, bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, of a bourgeoisie which has plundered the entire world, a reactionary bourgeoisie which, in alliance with feudal landlords, attempts to crush the proletariat, means comparing chalk and cheese. It is like comparing the "representatives of the bourgeoisie", Robespierre, Garibaldi and Zhelyabov, with such "representatives of the bourgeoisie" as Millerand, Salandra and Guchkov. One cannot be a Marxist without feeling the deepest respect for the great bourgeois revolutionaries who had an historic right to speak for their respective bourgeois "fatherlands", and, in the struggle against feudalism, led tens of millions of people in the new nations towards a civilised life. Neither can one be a Marxist without feeling contempt for the sophistry of Plekhanov and Kautsky, who speak of the "defence of the fatherland" with regard to the throttling of Belgium by the German imperialists, or with regard to the pact between the imperialists of Britain, France, Russia and Italy on the plundering of Austria and Turkey.

There is another "Marxist" theory of social-chauvinism, which runs as follows: socialism is based on the rapid development of capitalism; the development of capitalism in my

* Mr. Gardenin in *Zhizn*[120] labels as "revolutionary chauvinism"—but chauvinism—Marx's stand in 1848 for revolutionary war against the European nations which in fact had shown themselves to be counter-revolutionary, viz., "the Slavs and the Russians in particular". This reproof of Marx reveals once again the opportunism (or—properly speaking *and*—the inconsequence) of this "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary. We Marxists have always stood, and still stand, for a *revolutionary* war against *counter-revolutionary* nations. For instance, if socialism is *victorious* in America or in Europe in 1920, and Japan and China, let us say, *then* move their Bismarcks against us—if only diplomatically at first—we certainly would be *in favour* of an offensive revolutionary war against them. It seems strange to you, Mr. Gardenin? But then you are a revolutionary of the Ropshin type!

country, and consequently the advent of socialism there will be speeded up by her victory; my country's defeat will retard her economic development and consequently the advent of socialism. In Russia this Struvist theory has been developed by Plekhanov, and among the Germans by Lensch and others. Kautsky argues against this crude theory—against Lensch, who defends it overtly, and against Gunow, who defends it covertly; his sole purpose, however, is to reconcile the social-chauvinists of all countries on the basis of a more subtle and more Jesuitical chauvinist theory.

We need not dwell on this crude theory. Struve's *Critical Notes* appeared in 1894, and during the past twenty years Russian Social-Democrats have become thoroughly familiar with this habit of the enlightened Russian bourgeois of advancing their ideas and advocating their desires under the cloak of a "Marxism" *purged* of revolutionary content. Struvism is not merely a Russian, but, as recent events clearly prove, an international striving on the part of the bourgeois theoreticians to kill Marxism with "kindness", to crush it in their embraces, kill it with a feigned acceptance of "all" the "truly scientific" aspects and elements of Marxism *except* its "agitational", "demagogic", "Blanquist-utopian" aspect. In other words, they take from Marxism all that is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), the "general" recognition of "socialist ideals" and the substitution of a "new order" for capitalism; they cast aside "only" the living soul of Marxism, "only" its revolutionary content.

Marxism is the theory of the proletarian movement for emancipation. It is clear, therefore, that the class-conscious workers must pay the utmost attention to any substitution of Struvism for Marxism. The motive forces in this process are varied and manifold. We shall indicate only the three main forces: (1) the development of science is providing more and more material that proves that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically—not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to pretend to accept Marxism, while emasculating it by sophistry and turning it into a holy "icon" that is harmless to the bourgeoisie. (2) The development of opportunism among the Social-Democratic parties fosters such a re-fashioning of

Marxism, and adjusts it for a justification of all kinds of concessions to opportunism. (3) The epoch of imperialism is one in which the world is divided among the "great" privileged nations that oppress all other nations. Morsels of the loot obtained as a result of these privileges and this oppression undoubtedly fall to the share of certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie and to the working-class aristocracy and bureaucracy. These strata, which form an insignificant minority of the proletariat and of the toiling masses, gravitate towards "Struvism", because it provides them with a justification of their alliance with their "own" national bourgeoisie, against the oppressed masses of *all* nations. We shall have occasion to deal with this later, in connection with the causes of the collapse of the International.

IV

The most subtle theory of social-chauvinism; one that has been most skilfully touched up to look scientific and international, is the theory of "ultra-imperialism" advanced by Kautsky. Here is the clearest, most precise and most recent exposition of this theory in the words of the author himself:

"The subsiding of the Protectionist movement in Britain, the lowering of tariffs in America; the trend towards disarmament; the rapid decline in the export of capital from France and Germany in the years immediately preceding the war; finally, the growing international interweaving between the various cliques of finance capital—all this has caused me to consider whether the present imperialist policy cannot be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital. Such a new phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable. Can it be achieved? Sufficient premises are still lacking to enable us to answer this question..." (*Die Neue Zeit* No. 5, April 30, 1915, p. 144).

"The course and the outcome of the present war may prove decisive in this respect. It may entirely crush the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism by fanning to the highest degree national hatred also among the finance capitalists, by intensifying the armaments race, and by making a second world war inevitable. Under such conditions, the thing I foresaw and formulated in my pamphlet, *The Road to Power*, would come true in horrifying dimensions; class antagonisms would become sharper and sharper and with it would come the moral decay

[literally: "going out of business, *Abwirtschaftung*", bankruptcy] of capitalism.... [It must be noted that by this pretentious word Kautsky means simply the "hatred" which the "strata intermediary between the proletariat and finance capital", namely, "the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeois, even small capitalists", feel towards capitalism.] But the war may end otherwise. It may lead to the strengthening of the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism.... Its lessons [note this!] may hasten developments for which we would have to wait a long time under peace conditions. If it does lead to this, to an agreement between nations, disarmament and a lasting peace, then the worst of the causes that led to the growing moral decay of capitalism before the war may disappear." The new phase will, of course, bring the proletariat "new misfortunes", "perhaps even worse", but "for a time", "ultra-imperialism" "could create an era of new hopes and expectations within the framework of capitalism" (p. 145).

How is a justification of social-chauvinism deduced from this "theory"?

In a way rather strange for a "theoretician", namely as follows:

The Left-wing Social-Democrats in Germany say that imperialism and the wars it engenders are not accidental, but an inevitable product of capitalism, which has brought about the domination of finance capital. It is therefore necessary to go over to the revolutionary mass struggle, as the period of comparatively peaceful development has ended. The "Right"-wing Social-Democrats brazenly declare: since imperialism is "necessary", we too must be imperialists. Kautsky, in the role of the "Centre", tries to reconcile these two views.

"The extreme Lefts," he writes in his pamphlet, *The National State, the Imperialist State and the League of States* (Nuremberg, 1915), wish to "contrapose" socialism to inevitable imperialism, i.e., "not only the propaganda for socialism that we have been carrying on for half a century in contraposition to all forms of capitalist domination, but the immediate achievement of socialism. This seems very radical, but it can only serve *to drive* into the camp of imperialism *anyone* who *does not believe* in the immediate practical achievement of socialism" (p. 17, italics ours).

When he speaks of the immediate achievement of socialism, Kautsky is resorting to a subterfuge, for he takes advantage of the fact that in Germany, especially under the military censorship, revolutionary action cannot be spoken of. Kautsky is well aware that the Left wing is demanding of the Party *immediate* propaganda in favour of and prepara-

tion for, revolutionary action, not the "immediate practical achievement of socialism".

From the necessity of imperialism the Left wing deduces the necessity of revolutionary action. The "theory of ultra-imperialism", however, serves Kautsky as a means *to justify the opportunists*, to present the situation in such a light as to create the impression that they have not gone over to the bourgeoisie but simply "do not believe" that socialism can arrive immediately, and expect that a new "era" of disarmament and lasting peace "may be" ushered in. This "theory" boils down, and can *only* boil down, to the following: Kautsky is exploiting the *hope* for a *new* peaceful era of capitalisms as to justify the adhesion of the opportunists and the official Social-Democratic parties to the bourgeoisie, and their rejection of revolutionary, i.e., proletarian, tactics in the *present stormy era*, this despite the solemn declarations of the Basle resolution!

At the same time Kautsky does not say that this new phase follows, and necessarily so, from certain definite circumstances and conditions. On the contrary, he states quite outspokenly that he cannot yet even decide whether or not this new phase is "*achievable*". Indeed, consider the "trends" towards the new era, which have been indicated by Kautsky. Astonishingly enough, the author has included among the economic facts "the trend towards disarmament"! This means that, behind innocent philistine talk and pipe-dreaming, Kautsky is trying to hide from indisputable facts that do not at all fit in with the theory of the mitigation of contradictions. Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism"—this term, incidentally does not at all express what the author wants to say—implies a tremendous *mitigation* of the contradictions of capitalism. We are told that Protectionism is subsiding in Britain and America. But where is there the least trend towards a new era? Extreme Protectionism is now subsiding in America, but Protectionism remains, just as the privileges, the preferential tariffs favouring Britain, have remained in that country's colonies. Let us recall what the passage from the previous and "peaceful" period of capitalism to the present and imperialist period has been based on: free competition has yielded to monopolist capitalist combines, and the world has been partitioned. Both these facts (and

factors) are obviously of world-wide significance: Free Trade and peaceful competition were possible and necessary as long as capital was in a position to enlarge its colonies without hindrance, and seize unoccupied land in Africa, etc., and as long as the concentration of capital was still weak and no monopolist concerns existed, i.e., concerns of a magnitude permitting domination in an *entire* branch of industry. The appearance and growth of such monopolist concerns (has this process been stopped in Britain or America? Not even Kautsky will dare deny that the war has accelerated and intensified it) have rendered the free competition of former times *impossible*; they have cut the ground from under its feet, while the partition of the world *compels* the capitalists to go over from peaceful expansion to an armed struggle for the *repartitioning* of colonies and spheres of influence. It is ridiculous to think that the *subsiding* of Protectionism in two countries can change anything in this respect.

Let us further examine the fall in capital exports from two countries in the course of a few years. In 1912 these two countries, France and Germany, each had about 35,000 million marks (about 17,000 million rubles) of foreign investments, this according to Harms's statistics, while Britain alone had twice that sum.* The increase in exports of capital has never proceeded evenly under capitalism, nor could that have been so. Kautsky dares not even suggest that the accumulation of capital has decreased, or that the capacity of the home market has undergone any important change, say through a big improvement in the conditions of the masses. In these circumstances, the fall in capital exports from two countries over several years cannot imply the advent of a new era.

"The growing international interweaving between the cliques of finance capital" is the only really general and indubitable tendency, not during the last few years and in two countries, but throughout the whole capitalist world. But

* See Bernhard Harms, *Probleme der Weltwirtschaft*, Jena, 1912; George Paish, "Great Britain's Capital Investments in the Colonies, etc." in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXXIV, 1910/11, p. 167. Lloyd George, in a speech early in 1915, estimated British capital invested abroad at £4,000,000,000, i.e., about 80,000,000,000 marks.

why should this trend engender a striving towards disarmament, not armaments, as hitherto? Take any one of the world-famous cannon (and arms) manufacturers, Armstrong, for instance. The British *Economist* (May 1, 1915) published figures showing that this firm's *profits* rose from £606,000 (about 6,000,000 rubles) in 1905/6 to £856,000 in 1913, and to £940,000 (*9,000,000 rubles*) in 1914. Here, the intertwining of finance capital is most pronounced, and is on the increase, German capitalists have "holdings" in British firms; British firms build submarines for Austria, and so on. Interlinked on a world-wide scale, capital is thriving on armaments and wars. To think that the fact of capital in the individual states combining and interlinking on an international scale must of necessity produce an economic trend towards disarmament means, in effect, allowing well-meaning philistine expectations of an easing of class contradictions take the place of the actual intensification of those contradictions.

V

It is in a wholly philistine spirit that Kautsky speaks of the "lessons" of the war, presenting those lessons in the light of a moral abhorrence at the misery it causes. Here, for instance, is how he argues in the pamphlet entitled *The National State, etc.*:

> "It stands beyond doubt and needs no proof that there are strata of the population that are greatly interested in universal peace and disarmament. The petty bourgeoisie and the small peasants, and even many capitalists and intellectuals, are not tied to imperialism by any interests that outweigh the damage suffered by these strata as a result of war and armaments" (p. 21).

This was written in February 1915! The facts show that all the propertied classes, down to the petty bourgeoisie and the "intelligentsia", have joined the imperialists *en masse*, and yet Kautsky, like Chekhov's man in a muffler[121] shrugs off the facts with an air of extraordinary smugness and with the aid of saccharine phrases. He judges of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, not by their *conduct*, but by the *words* of certain petty bourgeois, although at every step

such words are refuted by the deeds. It is exactly like judging of the "interests" of the bourgeoisie in general, not by their deeds, but by the benevolent speeches made by bourgeois clergymen who avow that the present-day system is imbued with the ideals of Christianity. Kautsky applies Marxism in a way that voids it of all content, so that what remains is the catchword of "interests", in a kind of supernatural, otherworldly meaning, for it implies, not real economics, but pious wishes for the common weal.

Marxism appraises "interests" according to the class antagonisms and the class struggle which find expression in millions of facts of daily life. The petty bourgeoisie prattle and dream of the abatement of antagonisms, whose aggravation, they "argue", leads to "harmful consequences". Imperialism means the subjugation of all strata of the propertied classes to finance capital, and the partition of the world among five or six "Great" Powers, most of which are now involved in the war. The partition of the world among the Great Powers means that all their propertied classes *are interested* in possessing colonies and spheres of influence, in oppressing other nations, and in securing the more or less lucrative posts and privileges that stem from belonging to a "Great" Power and an oppressor nation.*

Life *cannot* go on in the old way, in the comparatively tranquil, cultured and peaceful conditions of a capitalism that is smoothly developing and gradually spreading to new countries. A new epoch has arrived. Finance capital *ousts*, and will completely oust, a particular country from the

* E. Schultze states that by 1915 the value of securities in the whole world was calculated at 732,000 million francs, including state and municipal loans, the mortgages and shares of commercial and manufacturing corporations, etc. Of this sum, Britain's share was 130,000 million francs, that of the United States 115,000 million, France 100,000 million and Germany 75,000 million, i.e., the share of all four Great Powers being 420,000 million francs, over half the total. From this one can realise the advantages and privileges accruing to the leading Great Powers, which have outstripped other nations oppressing and plundering the latter. (Dr. Ernst Schultze, *Das französische Kapital in Russland* in *Finanz-Archiv*, Berlin, 1915, 32nd year of publication, p. 127.) To a Great Power "defence of the fatherland" means defence of the right to share in the plundering of foreign countries. In Russia, as is common knowledge, capitalist imperialism is weaker than military-feudal imperialism is.

ranks of Great Powers, will deprive it of its colonies and spheres of influence (as Germany, which has gone to war with Britain, threatens to do), and it will deprive the petty bourgeoisie of their dominant-nation privileges and additional incomes. This has been proved by the war. It is the *outcome* of that aggravation of antagonisms which has long been admitted by all, including Kautsky, in his pamphlet *The Road to Power*.

Now that the armed conflict for Great-Power privileges has become a fact, Kautsky wants to *persuade* the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie to believe that war is horrible, while disarmament is beneficial, in exactly the same way and with exactly the same results as the Christian churchman, speaking from the pulpit, would persuade the capitalist to believe that love of one's fellow-men is a Divine commandment, as well as the spiritual yearning and the moral law of civilisation. What Kautsky calls an economic trend towards "ultra-imperialism" is just a petty-bourgeois *exhortation* to the financiers that they should refrain from doing evil.

The export of capital? *But* more capital is exported to independent countries such as the United States of America, than to the colonies. The seizure of colonies? *But* they have all been seized, and nearly all of them are striving for liberation. "India may cease to be a British possession, but as an integral empire it will never fall under the sway of another foreign power" (p. 49 in the pamphlet quoted). "Any attempt on the part of any industrial capitalist state to acquire for itself a colonial empire sufficient to make it independent of other countries in regard to raw materials must cause all other capitalist states to unite against it and involve it in endless and exhausting wars, without bringing it nearer to its goal. Such a policy would be the surest road towards the bankruptcy of the entire economic life of that state" (pp. 72-73).

Is not this a philistine attempt to persuade financiers to renounce imperialism? Any attempt to frighten capitalists with the prospect of bankruptcy is like advising against speculating in shares on the Stock Exchange because many fortunes have been lost in this way. Capital *gains* from the bankruptcy of a rival capitalist or of a rival

nation, because in this way capital becomes more concentrated. Hence the keener and "closer" economic competition becomes, i.e., the economic driving of a competitor towards bankruptcy, the more the capitalists strive to add *military* pressure in order to drive the competitor in that direction. The fewer the countries to which capital can still be exported as advantageously as to colonies or to such dependent states as Turkey—since in *such* cases the financier reaps a triple profit as against capital exports to a free, independent and civilised country like the United States of America—the *fiercer* is the struggle for the subjugation and partition of Turkey, China, etc. That is what economic theory reveals about the period of finance capital and imperialism. That is what the facts reveal. But Kautsky turns everything into a trite petty-bourgeois "moral": it is not worth while getting worked up and certainly not worth while going to war over the partition of Turkey, or the seizure of India, since they cannot be held for long anyway, and, moreover, it would be better to develop capitalism peacefully.... It would be better still, of course, to develop capitalism and expand the home market by increasing wages; this is quite "conceivable" and it is a very fitting topic for a churchman to preach on to the financiers.... The good Kautsky has almost succeeded in persuading the German financiers that it is not worth while waging war against Britain for the colonies, because these colonies will soon secure their liberation in any case!

Britain's exports to and imports from Egypt between 1872 and 1912 have not kept pace with the overall growth of British exports and imports, whence the "Marxist" Kautsky draws the following moral: "We have no reason to suppose that British trade with Egypt would have been less developed as a result of the mere operation of economic factors, without military occupation" (p. 72). "Capital's urge to expand ... can be *best* promoted, not by the violent methods of imperialism, but *by peaceful democracy*" (p. 70).

What a remarkably serious, scientific and "Marxist" analysis! Kautsky has splendidly "rectified" unreasonable history; he has "proved" that there was no need for the British to have taken Egypt from the French, that it was absolutely not worth the German financiers' while to have started the war, organised the Turkish campaign, and taken other meas-

ures to drive the British out of Egypt! All this is merely a misunderstanding—it has not yet dawned upon the British that it would be "best" to give up forcible methods in Egypt, and adopt "peaceful democracy" (so as to increase exports of capital *à la Kautsky*!).

"Of course it was an illusion on the part of the bourgeois Free-Traders to think that Free Trade would entirely eliminate the economic antagonisms generated by capitalism. Neither Free Trade nor democracy can eliminate these. We, in all respects are interested in having these antagonisms eliminated by a struggle waged in such forms as will impose the least amount of suffering and sacrifice on the masses" (p. 73)

The Lord help us, the Lord have mercy on us! "What is a philistine?" Lassalle used to ask, and answered by quoting the words of the well-known poet: "A philistine is a gut void of everything but fear and hope that God will have mercy on him."[122]

Kautsky has degraded Marxism to unparalleled prostitution and has turned into a real churchman. The latter tries to *persuade* the capitalists to adopt peaceful democracy—and calls this dialectics: if at first, he argues, there was Free Trade, and then arrived the monopolies and imperialism, why should there not he "ultra-imperialism", and then Free Trade again? The churchman *consoles* the oppressed masses by depicting the blessings this "ultra-imperialism" will bring, although he has not even the courage to say whether it can be "achieved"! Feuerbach was right when, in reply to those who defended religion on the ground that it consoles the people, he indicated the reactionary significance of consolation: whoever consoles the slave instead of arousing him to rise up against slavery is aiding the slave-owner.

All oppressing classes stand in need of two social functions to safeguard their rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest. The hangman is required to quell the protests and the indignation of the oppressed; the priest is required to console the oppressed, to depict to them the prospects of their sufferings and sacrifices being mitigated (this is particularly easy to do without guaranteeing that these prospects will be "achieved"), while preserving class rule, and thereby to reconcile them to class rule, win them away

from revolutionary action, undermine their revolutionary spirit and destroy their revolutionary determination. Kautsky has turned Marxism into a most hideous and stupid counter-revolutionary theory, into the lowest kind of clericalism.

In 1909, he acknowledged, in his *The Road to Power*, the fact of the unrefuted and irrefutable intensification of antagonisms within capitalism, the approach of a period of wars and revolutions, of a new "revolutionary period". There can be no "premature" revolution, he said, and branded as "a direct betrayal of our cause" any refusal to count on the possibility of victory in an uprising, even though, before the fighting began, the prospect of defeat could not be denied.

With the advent of war, the antagonisms have become *still* more bitter. The sufferings of the masses have assumed tremendous proportions. The end of the war is not in sight and the hostilities are spreading more and more. Kautsky is writing pamphlet after pamphlet and, meekly submitting to the dictates of the censorship, refrains from quoting the facts on the land-grabbing, the horrors of war, the scandalous profiteering of the war contractors, the high cost of living and the actual slavery of the workers mobilised in the munitions industries; instead, he keeps on consoling the proletariat. He does so by quoting the instance of wars in which the bourgeoisie was revolutionary and progressive, in regard to which "Marx himself" desired victory for one bourgeoisie or the other; he consoles it by quoting rows and columns of figures to prove that capitalism is "possible" without colonies, without the plundering of others, without wars and armaments, and to prove that "peaceful democracy" is preferable. Not daring to deny that the sufferings of the masses are becoming more acute and that a revolutionary situation is arising before our very eyes (one must not talk about this, since it is not permitted by the censor!), Kautsky, in his servility to the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, depicts the "prospect" (he does *not guarantee* that it can be "achieved") of forms of struggle in a new phase, which will entail "less sacrifice and suffering".... Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg were quite right when, for this very reason, they called Kautsky a street-walker (*Mädchen für alle*).

* * *

In August 1905 a revolutionary situation existed in Russia. The tsar had promised convocation of the Bulygin Duma[123] in order to "console" the masses who were in a state of unrest. If the abandoning of armaments by the financiers and their agreeing to a "lasting peace" can be called "ultra-imperialism", then the Bulygin regime of consultative parliamentary representation may be described as "ultra-autocracy". Let us assume for a moment that tomorrow a hundred of the world's biggest financiers, "interwoven" as they are in hundreds of colossal enterprises, will *promise* the peoples that they will stand for disarmament after the war (we make this assumption only for a moment in order to draw political conclusions from Kautsky's foolish little theory). Even if that happened, it would be downright treachery to the proletariat to dissuade it from taking revolutionary action, without which all promises and all fine prospects are only a mirage.

The war has not only brought the capitalist class huge profits and splendid prospects of fresh plunder (Turkey, China, etc.), new contracts worth thousands of millions and new loans at increased rates of interest; it has also brought the capitalist class still greater political advantages in that it has split and corrupted the proletariat. Kautsky is encouraging this corruption; he sanctifies this international *split* among the militant proletarians *in the name of unity* with the opportunists of their "own" nations, with the Südekums! And yet there are people who fail to understand that the unity slogan of the old parties means the "unity" of the proletariat of a given nation with the bourgeoisie of that nation, and a *split* among the proletariat of the various nations....

VI

The preceding lines had already been written when *Die Neue Zeit* of May 28 (No. 9) appeared with Kautsky's concluding arguments on the collapse of Social-Democracy" (Section 7 of his reply to Cunow). Kautsky sums up all his old sophisms, and a new one, in defence of social-chauvinism as follows:

"It is simply untrue to say that the war is a purely imperialist one, that at the outbreak of the war the alternative was either imperialism or socialism, that the socialist parties and the proletarian masses of Germany, France and, in many respects, also of Britain, unthinkingly and at the mere call of a handful of parliamentarians, threw themselves into the arms of imperialism, betrayed socialism and thus caused a collapse unexampled in history."

A new sophism and a new deception of the workers: the war, if you please, is not a "purely" imperialist one!

Kautsky vacillates amazingly on the question of the character and significance of the present war; this party leader evades the precise and formal declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz congresses, as studiedly as a thief keeps away from the place where he has just committed a theft. In his pamphlet, *The National State*, *etc.*, written in February 1915, Kautsky asserted that "still, in the final analysis", the war is an "imperialist one" (p. 64). Now a fresh reservation is introduced: it is not a *purely* imperialist war. What else can it he?

It appears that it is also a national war! Kautsky arrives at this monstrous conclusion by means of the following "Plekhanovist" pseudo-dialectic:

"The present war is not only the child of imperialism, but also of the Russian revolution." As early as 1904, he, Kautsky, foresaw that the Russian revolution would revive Pan-Slavism in a new form, that "democratic Russia would, inevitably, greatly fan the desire of the Austrian and Turkish Slavs for national independence.... Then the Polish question would also become acute.... Austria would fall apart because, with the collapse of tsarism, the iron band which at present binds the centrifugal elements together would be destroyed" (Kautsky himself quotes this last phrase from his 1904 article). "The Russian revolution ... gave a new and powerful impetus to the national aspirations of the East, adding Asia's problems to those of Europe. *All these problems* are making themselves very strongly felt in the *present* war and are acquiring very decisive significance for the mood of the masses *of the people*, including the *proletarian* masses, whereas among the ruling classes imperialist tendencies are predominant" (p. 273, italics ours).

This is another sample of the prostitution of Marxism! *Inasmuch as* a "democratic Russia" would foster a striving towards freedom in the nations of Eastern Europe (this is indisputable), the present war, which will not liberate a single nation, but, whatever the outcome, will enslave many nations, is not a "purely" imperialist war. *Inasmuch as* the "collapse of tsarism" would mean the disintegration of Austria,

owing to its undemocratic national structure, a temporarily strengthened, and counter-revolutionary tsarism, which is plundering Austria and is bringing *still greater* oppression to the nations inhabiting Austria, has given "the present war", not a purely imperialist character but, to a certain degree, a national character. *Inasmuch as* "the ruling classes" are deluding the stupid petty bourgeois and browbeaten peasants with fables about the national aims of the imperialist war, a man of science, an authority on "Marxism", and representative of the Second International, is entitled to reconcile the masses to this deception by means of a "formula" which claims that the ruling classes reveal imperialist tendencies, while the "people" and the proletarian masses reveal "national" aspirations.

Dialectic is turned into the meanest and basest sophistry!

In the present war the national element is represented *only* by Serbia's war against Austria (which, by the way, was noted in the resolution of our Party's Berne Conference).* It is only in Serbia and among the Serbs that we can find a national-liberation movement of long standing, embracing millions, "the masses of the people", a movement of which the present war of Serbia against Austria is a "continuation". If this war were an isolated one, i.e., if it were not connected with the general European war, with the selfish and predatory aims of Britain, Russia, etc., it would have been the *duty* of all socialists to desire the success of the Serbian *bourgeoisie*—this is the only correct and absolutely inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the national element in the present war. However it is this conclusion that the sophist Kautsky, who is now in the service of the Austrian bourgeoisie, clericals and militarists, has failed to draw.

Further, Marxist dialectics, as the last word in the scientific-evolutionary method, excludes any isolated examination of an object, i.e., one that is one-sided and monstrously distorted. The national element in the Serbo-Austrian war is not, and cannot be, of *any* serious significance in the general European war. If Germany wins, she will throttle Belgium, one more part of Poland, perhaps part of France, etc. If Russia wins, she will throttle Galicia, one more part of

* See p. 159 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Poland, Armenia, etc. If the war ends in a "draw", the old national oppression will remain. To Serbia, i.e., to perhaps one per cent or so of the participants in the present war, the war is a "continuation of the politics" of the bourgeois-liberation movement. To the other ninety-nine per cent, the war is a continuation of the politics of imperialism, i.e., of the decrepit bourgeoisie, which is capable only of raping nations, not freeing them. The Triple Entente, which is "liberating" Serbia, is *selling* the interests of Serbian liberty to Italian imperialism in return for the latter's aid in robbing Austria.

All this, which is common knowledge, has been unblushingly distorted by Kautsky to justify the opportunists. There are *no* "pure" phenomena, nor can there be, either in Nature or in society—that is what Marxist dialectics teaches us, for dialectics shows that the very concept of purity indicates a certain narrowness, a one-sidedness of human cognition, which cannot embrace an object in all its totality and complexity. There is no "pure" capitalism in the world, nor can there be; what we always find is *admixtures* either of feudalism, philistinism, or of something else. Therefore, if anyone recalls that the war is not "purely" imperialist, when we are discussing the flagrant deception of "the masses of the people" by the imperialists, who are deliberately concealing the aims of undisguised robbery with "national" phraseology, then such a person is either an infinitely stupid pedant, or a pettifogger and deceiver. The whole point is that Kautsky is *supporting* the deception of the people by the imperialists when he asserts that to "the masses of the people, including the proletarian masses", the problems of national liberation were "of decisive significance" *whereas* to the ruling classes the decisive factors were "imperialist tendencies" (p. 273), and when he "reinforces" this with an alleged dialectical reference to the "infinite variety of reality" (p. 274). Certainly, reality is infinitely varied. That is absolutely true! But it is equally indubitable that amidst this infinite variety there are two main and fundamental strains: the objective content of the war is a "continuation of the politics" of imperialism, i.e., the plunder of other nations by the decrepit bourgeoisie of the "Great Powers" (and their governments), whereas the prevailing "subjective"

ideology consists of "national" phraseology which is being spread to fool the masses.

Kautsky's old sophism, repeated time and again, claiming that "at the outbreak of war" the "Lefts" regarded the situation as presenting an alternative between imperialism or socialism, has already been analysed. This is a shameless subterfuge, for Kautsky knows very well that the Lefts advanced a *different* alternative, viz., either that the party join in the imperialist plunder and deception, or else propagate and prepare for revolutionary action. Kautsky knows also that it is the censorship *alone* that prevents the Lefts in Germany from exposing the stupid fable that his servility to the Südekums makes him spread.

As for the relation between the "proletarian masses" and a "handful of parliamentarians", Kautsky advances a most threadbare objection:

> "Let us disregard the Germans, so as not to plead in our own behalf; who would seriously assert that men like Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov became imperialists overnight and betrayed socialism? Let us disregard the parliamentarians and the 'leading bodies' ... [Kautsky is obviously hinting at *Die Internationale*, the journal issued by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, in which the policy of the leading bodies, i.e., the official bodies of the German Social-Democratic Party, its Executive, the "*Vorstand*", its parliamentary group, etc., is treated with deserved contempt] ... who would dare assert that an order given by a handful of parliamentarians is sufficient to make four million class-conscious German proletarians turn right-about-face within twenty-four hours, in direct opposition to their former aims? If this were true, it would, of course, be evidence of a terrible collapse, not only of our Party, but also of the *masses*. [Kautsky's italics.] If the masses were such a spineless flock of sheep, we might just as well allow ourselves to be buried" (p. 274).

Politically and scientifically, Karl Kautsky, the great authority, gave himself a burial long ago through his conduct and his collection of pitiful evasions. Those who fail to understand or at least to feel this, are hopeless as far as socialism is concerned; it is for this very reason that the tone adopted, in *Die Internationale*, by Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and their adherents, in treating Kautsky and Co. as most despicable creatures, was the only correct one in the circumstances.

Consider: the *only* people *in a position* to express their attitude to the war more or less freely (i.e., without being

immediately seized and dragged to the barracks, or the immediate risk of being shot) were a "handful of parliamentarians" (who were free to vote, with the right to do so; they were quite able to vote in opposition. Even in Russia, no one was beaten up or even arrested for this), a handful of officials, journalists, etc. And now, Kautsky nobly places on the *masses* the blame for the treachery and the spinelessness of that social *stratum* of whose *links* with the tactics and ideology of opportunism Kautsky himself has written scores of times over a number of years! The first and most fundamental demand of scientific research in general and of Marxist dialectic in particular is that a writer should examine the *link* between the present struggle of *trends* in the socialist movement—between the trend that is doing the talking, vociferating, and raising a hullabaloo about treachery, and the trend which sees no treachery—and the struggle that preceded it for *whole decades*. Kautsky, however, does not say a word about this; he does not even wish to raise the question of trends and *tendencies*. Till now there have been tendencies, but now there are none! Today, there are only the resonant names of "authorities", which the servile spirits always invoke as their trump card. In this connection it is most convenient for one to refer to the other and to cover up one's "peccadilloes" in a friendly fashion, according to the rule: you roll my log and I'll roll yours. "How can this be called opportunism," Martov exclaimed at a lecture in Berne (see No. 36 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*), "when Guesde, Plekhanov and Kautsky..."! "We must be more careful in accusing men like Guesde of opportunism," Axelrod wrote (*Golos* Nos. 86 and 87). "I will not defend myself," Kautsky echoed in Berlin, "but Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov..."! What a mutual admiration society!

In his writings, Kautsky has revealed such servile zeal as to fawn upon even Hyndman and to make it appear that it was only yesterday that the latter deserted to the side of imperialism. And yet the selfsame *Neue Zeit* and scores of Social-Democratic papers all over the world have been writing about Hyndman's imperialism *for many years*. Had Kautsky gone to the trouble of thoroughly studying the political biographies of the *persons* he mentions, he would have recalled whether or not those biographies contained traits

and events which paved the way for their desertion to imperialism, not "overnight", but over decades; whether Vaillant had been held captive by the Jaurèsists, and Plekhanov by the Mensheviks and liquidators; whether the Guesdist *trend* had been publicly giving up the ghost in that typically lifeless and insipid Guesdist magazine, *Le Socialisme*,[124] which was incapable of taking an independent stand on any important issue; whether Kautsky himself (we add this for the benefit of those who very properly put him alongside Hyndman and Plekhanov) had been supine in the question of Millerandism, in the early stage of the struggle against Bernsteinism, etc.

But Kautsky does not display the slightest shadow of interest in any scientific examination of these leaders' biographies. He does not even attempt to see whether these leaders are defending themselves with their *own* arguments or by repeating the arguments of the opportunists and the bourgeoisie; whether the actions of these leaders have acquired serious political significance because of their own extraordinary influence, or because they have adhered to some other really "influential" trend which is supported by a military organisation, namely, the bourgeois trend. Kautsky has not even set about examining this question; his only concern is to throw dust in the eyes of the masses, dumbfound them with the sound of authoritative names, prevent them from raising a clear issue and examining it from all sides.*

"...an order given by a handful of parliamentarians is sufficient to make four million class-conscious proletarians turn right-about-face...."

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* Kautsky's references to Vaillant and Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov are characteristic also in another connection. The outspoken imperialists of the Lensch and Haenisch variety (to say nothing of the opportunists) refer to Hyndman and Plekhanov so as to justify *their own* policy, and they have a *right* to do so. They are speaking the *truth* when they say it is one and the same policy. Kautsky, however, speaks with disdain of Lensch and Haenisch, radicals who have turned towards imperialism. Kautsky thanks God that he is unlike such sinners, that he disagrees with them, and has remained a revolutionary (*sic*!). *As a matter of fact*, Kautsky's stand is the same as theirs. Kautsky, the hypocritical chauvinist who employs sentimental phrases, is much more odious than the chauvinist simpletons, David and Heine, Lensch and Haenisch.

Every word uttered here is a lie. The German Party organisation had a membership of one million, not four million. As is the case with any organisation, the united will of this mass organisation was expressed *only* through its united political centre, the "handful", who betrayed socialism. It was this handful who were asked to express their opinion; it was this handful who were called upon to vote, they were in a position to vote; they were in a position to write articles, etc. The masses were not consulted. Not only were they not permitted to vote, but they were disunited and coerced "*by orders*", not from a handful of parliamentarians, but from the military authorities. A military organisation existed; there was no treachery among the leaders of *this* organisation. It called up the "masses" *one by one*, confronted the individual with the ultimatum: either join the army, as your leaders advise you to, or be shot. The masses could not act in an organised fashion because their previously created organisation, an organisation embodied in a "handful" of Legiens, Kautskys and Scheidemanns, had betrayed them. It takes time to create a *new* organisation, as well as a determination to consign the old, rotten, and obsolete organisation to the scrap heap.

Kautsky tries to defeat his opponents, the Lefts, by ascribing to them the nonsensical idea that the "masses", "in retaliation" to war, should make a revolution "within twenty-four hours", and institute "socialism" as opposed to imperialism, or otherwise the "masses" would be revealing "spinelessness and treachery". But this is sheer nonsense, which the compilers of illiterate bourgeois and police booklets have hitherto used to "defeat" the revolutionaries, and Kautsky now flaunts in our faces. Kautsky's Left opponents know perfectly well that a revolution cannot be "made", that revolutions *develop* from objectively (i.e., independently of the will of parties and classes) mature crises and turns in history, that without organisation the masses lack unity of will, and that the struggle against a centralised state's powerful terrorist military organisation is a difficult and lengthy business. Owing to the treachery of their leaders, the masses *could not* do anything at the crucial moment, whereas this "handful" of leaders *were in an excellent position* and in duty bound to vote against the war credits, take a stand against

a "class truce" and justification of the war, express themselves in favour of the defeat of *their own* governments, set up an international apparatus for the purpose of carrying on propaganda in favour of fraternisation in the trenches, organise the publication of illegal literature* on the necessity of starting revolutionary activities, etc.

Kautsky knows perfectly well that it is precisely such or rather *similar* actions that the German "Lefts" have in mind, and that under a military censorship they cannot talk about these things *directly*, openly. Kautsky's desire to defend the opportunists at all costs has led him into unparalleled infamy: taking cover behind the military censors, he attributes patent absurdities to the Lefts, in the confidence that the censors will protect him from exposure.

VII

The serious scientific and political question, which Kautsky has deliberately evaded by means of subterfuges of all kinds, thereby giving enormous pleasure to the opportunists, is this: how was it *possible* for the most prominent representatives of the Second International to betray socialism?

This question should not, of course, be considered from the standpoint of the biographies of the individual leaders. Their future biographers will have to analyse the problem from this angle as well, but what interests the socialist movement today is not that, but a study of the historical

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* Incidentally, it would not have been at all necessary to close *all* Social-Democratic papers in reply to the government's ban on writing about class hatred and class struggle. To agree not to write about this, as *Vorwärts* did was mean and cowardly. *Vorwärts* died *politically* when it did this and Martov was right when he said so. It was, however, possible to retain the legal papers by declaring that they were non-Party and *non-Social-Democratic*, and served the technical needs of a section of the workers, i.e., that they were *non-political papers*. Underground Social-Democratic literature containing an *assessment* of the war, and legally published working-class literature *without that assessment*, a literature that does not say what is not true, but keeps silent about the truth—why should this not have been possible?

origins, the conditions, the significance and the strength of the social-chauvinist *trend*. (1) Where did social-chauvinism spring from? (2) What gave it strength? (3) How must it be combated? Only such an approach to the question can be regarded as serious, the "personal" approach being in practice an evasion, a piece of sophistry.

To answer the first question we must see, first, whether the ideological and political content of social-chauvinism is *connected* with some previous trend in socialism; and second, in what relation—from the standpoint of actual political divisions—the present division of socialists into opponents and defenders of social-chauvinism stands to divisions which historically preceded it.

By social-chauvinism we mean acceptance of the idea of the defence of the fatherland in the present imperialist war, justification of an alliance between socialists and the bourgeoisie and the governments of their "own" countries in this war, a refusal to propagate and support proletarian-revolutionary action against one's "own" bourgeoisie, etc. It is perfectly obvious that social-chauvinism's basic ideological and political content fully coincides with the foundations of opportunism. It is *one and the same* tendency. In the conditions of the war of 1914-15, opportunism leads to social-chauvinism. The idea of class collaboration is opportunism's main feature. The war has brought this idea to its logical conclusion, and has augmented its usual factors and stimuli with a number of extraordinary ones; through the operation of special threats and coercion it has compelled the philistine and disunited masses to collaborate with the bourgeoisie. This circumstance has naturally multiplied adherents of opportunism and fully explains why many radicals of yesterday have deserted to that camp.

Opportunism means sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers or, in other words, an alliance between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the mass of the proletariat. The war has made such an alliance particularly conspicuous and inescapable. Opportunism was engendered in the course of decades by the special features in the period of the development of capitalism, when the comparatively peaceful and cultured life of

a stratum of privileged workingmen "bourgeoisified" them, gave them crumbs from the table of their national capitalists, and isolated them from the suffering, misery and revolutionary temper of the impoverished and ruined masses. The imperialist war is the direct continuation and culmination of this state of affairs, because this is a war for the *privileges* of the Great-Power nations, for the repartition of colonies, and domination over other nations. To defend and strengthen their privileged position as a petty-bourgeois "upper stratum" or aristocracy (and bureaucracy) of the working class—such is the natural wartime continuation of petty-bourgeois opportunist hopes and the corresponding tactics, such is the economic foundation of present-day social-imperialism.* And, of course, the force of habit, the routine of relatively "peaceful" evolution, national prejudices, a fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them—all these were additional circumstances which enhanced both opportunism and a hypocritical and a craven reconciliation with opportunism —ostensibly only for a time and only because of extraordinary causes and motives. The war has changed this opportunism, which had been fostered for decades, raised it to a higher stage, increased the number and the variety of its shades, augmented the ranks of its adherents, enriched their arguments with a multitude of new sophisms, and has

* Here are several examples showing how highly the imperialists and the bourgeoisie value the importance of "Great-Power" and national privileges as a means of dividing the workers and diverting them from socialism. In a book entitled *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* (Oxford, 1912), the British imperialist Lucas acknowledges the legal disabilities of coloured people in the present British Empire (pp. 96-97), and remarks that "in our own Empire, where white workers and coloured workers are side by side, ... they do not work on the same level, and that the white man is rather the overseer of ... the coloured man. In a pamphlet entitled *Social-Democracy after the War* (1915), Erwin Belger, a former secretary of the Imperial Alliance against Social-Democrats, praises the conduct of the Social-Democrats and declares that they must become a "purely labour party" (p. 43), a "national", a "German labour party" (p. 45), without "internationalist, Utopian", and "revolutionary" ideas (p. 44). In a book dealing with capital investments abroad (1907), the German imperialist Sartorius von Waltershausen blames the German Social-Democrats for ignoring the "national welfare" (p. 438)—which consists in the seizure of colonies—and praises the British workers' "realism", for instance, their struggle against immigration. In a book on the

merged, so to say, many new streams and rivulets with the mainstream of opportunism. However, the mainstream has not disappeared. Quite the reverse.

Social-chauvinism is an opportunism which has matured to such a degree that the *continued* existence of this bourgeois abscess within the socialist parties has become impossible.

Those who refuse to see the closest and unbreakable link between social-chauvinism and opportunism clutch at individual instances—this opportunist or another, they say, has turned internationalist; this radical or another has turned chauvinist. But this kind of argument carries no weight as far as the development of *trends* is concerned. Firstly, chauvinism and opportunism in the labour movement have the same economic basis: the alliance between a numerically small upper stratum of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie—who get but morsels of the privileges of their "own" national capital—against the masses of the proletarians, the masses of the toilers and the oppressed in general. Secondly, the two trends have the same ideological and political content. Thirdly, the old division of socialists into an opportunist trend and a revolutionary, which was characteristic of the period of the Second International (1889-1914), *corresponds*, by and large, to the new division into chauvinists and internationalists.

To realise the correctness of the latter statement, one must remember that social science (like science generally) usually deals with *mass* phenomena, not with individual cases.

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principles of world politics, the German diplomat Ruedorffer stresses the generally known fact that the internationalisation of capital by no means eliminates the national capitalists' intensified struggle for power and influence, for "majority share-holding" (p. 161). The author notes that the workers become involved in this intensified struggle (p. 175). The book is dated October 1913, and the author speaks with perfect clarity of the "interests of capital" (p. 157) as the cause of modern wars. He says that the question of the "national tendency" becomes the kingpin of socialism (p. 176), and that the governments have nothing to fear from the internationalist manifestos of the Social-Democrats (p. 177), who in reality are turning more and more national (pp. 103, 110, 176). International socialism will be victorious, he says, if it extricates the workers from national influence, since nothing can be achieved through violence alone; however, it will suffer defeat if national sentiments gain the upper hand (pp. 173-74).

Let us take ten European countries: Germany, Britain, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, France and Belgium. In the first eight countries, the new division of socialists (according to internationalism) corresponds to the old division (according to opportunism): in Germany the magazine *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which was a stronghold of opportunism, has become a stronghold of chauvinism. The ideas of internationalism have the support of the extreme Lefts. In Britain about three-sevenths of the British Socialist Party are internationalists (66 votes for an internationalist resolution and 84 against it, as shown by the latest counts), while in the opportunist *bloc* (the Labour Party plus the Fabians, plus the Independent Labour Party) *less* than one-seventh are internationalists.* In Russia, the liquidationist *Nasha Zarya*, the mainstay of the opportunists, has become the mainstay of chauvinism. Plekhanov and Alexinsky are making more noise, but we know from five years' experience (1910-14) that they are incapable of conducting systematic propaganda among the masses in Russia. The nucleus of the internationalists in Russia is made up of "Pravdism"[125] and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma as representing the advanced workers who restored the Party in January 1912.

In Italy, the party of Bissolati and Co., which was purely opportunist, has turned chauvinist. Internationalism is represented by the *workers*' party. The *masses* of the workers are for this party; the opportunists, the parliamentarians and the petty bourgeoisie are for chauvinism. In the course of several months a free choice could be made and indeed was made in Italy, not fortuitously but in conformity with the difference in the class stand of rank-and-file proletarians and the petty-bourgeois groups.

In Holland, Troelstra's opportunist party is reconciled to chauvinism in general (one must not be deceived by the

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* The Independent Labour Party *alone* is usually compared with the British Socialist Party. That is wrong. The essentials should be considered, not the forms of organisation. Take the daily newspapers: there were *two* of them—one, the *Daily Herald*, mouthpiece of the British Socialist Party, the other, the *Daily Citizen*, mouthpiece of the opportunist bloc. The dailies do the actual work of propaganda, agitation and organisation.

fact that in Holland the petty bourgeoisie, like the big bourgeoisie, have a particular hatred of Germany, because the latter can "swallow" them up easiest of all). It is the Marxist party, led by Gorter and Pannekoek, that has produced consistent, sincere, ardent and convinced internationalists. In Sweden, Branting, the opportunist leader, is indignant at the German socialists being accused of treachery, while Höglund, leader of the Lefts, has declared that this is precisely the opinion of some of his adherents (see *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 36). In Bulgaria, the "Tesnyaki", who are opposed to opportunism, have, in their press (the paper *Novo Vreme*[126]), accused the German Social-Democrats of having "perpetrated a foul act". In Switzerland, the adherents of the opportunist Greulich are inclined to justify the German Social-Democrats (see their organ, the Zurich *Volksrecht*, whereas those who support the much more radical R. Grimm have turned the Berne paper, *Berner Tagwacht*, into an organ of the German Lefts. Only two countries out of the ten—France and Belgium—are exceptions, but even here, strictly speaking, we see, not an absence of internationalists, but their excessive weakness and dejection (due in part to causes that can be readily understood); let us not forget that Vaillant himself has admitted, in *l'Humanité*, that he has received from his readers letters of an internationalist character, letters which, however, he has not published in full, *not a single one* of them!

By and large, if we take the trends and tendencies, we must admit that it was the opportunist wing of European socialism that betrayed socialism and deserted to chauvinism. What is the source of its strength and its seeming omnipotence within the official parties? Now that he himself is involved, Kautsky, who is well versed in raising questions of history, especially with reference to ancient Rome or similar matters that do not have a direct bearing on problems of our times, hypocritically pretends a lack of understanding. But the whole thing is crystal-clear. The immense strength of the opportunists and the chauvinists stems from *their alliance* with the bourgeoisie, with the governments and the General Staffs. This is often overlooked in Russia, where it is assumed the opportunists are a *section* of the socialist parties, that there always have been and will be two

extreme wings within those parties, that "extremes" should be avoided, etc., etc.—and plenty of similar philistine copy book maxims.

In reality, the opportunists' formal membership in workers' parties by no means disproves their objectively being a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, conductors of its influence, and its agents in the labour movement. When the opportunist Südekum, whose claim to fame is like that of Herostratus, convincingly demonstrated this social and class truth, many good people gasped with amazement. The French socialists and Plekhanov pointed the finger of scorn at Südekum—although had Vandervelde, Semhat or Plekhanov looked into a mirror they would have seen *nothing but a Südekum*, with slightly different national features. The members of the German Executive (*Vorstand*), who now praise Kautsky and are praised by Kautsky, have made haste to declare—cautiously, modestly and politely (without naming Südekum)—that they "do not agree" with Südekum's line.

This is ridiculous, because, at the crucial moment, Südekum alone, actually proved stronger in the policies of the German Social-Democratic Party than a hundred Haases and Kautskys (just as *Nasha Zarya* alone is stronger than all the Brussels bloc trends, which are afraid to break away from that paper).

Why is that so? It is because behind Südekum are the bourgeoisie, the government, and the General Staff of a Great Power. These support Südekum's policy in a thousand ways, whereas his opponents' policy is frustrated by every means, including prison and the firing squad. Südekum's voice reaches the public in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers (as do the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, and Plekhanov), whereas the voices of his opponents *cannot* be heard in the legal press because of the military censorship!

It is generally agreed that opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history. The significance of this truth is not always given sufficient thought. Opportunism has been nurtured by legalism. The workers' parties of the period between 1889 and 1914 had to take advantage of bourgeois legality. When the crisis

came, they should have adopted illegal methods of work (but this could not be done otherwise than with the greatest vigour and determination, combined with a number of stratagems). A *single* Südekum was sufficient to prevent the adoption of illegal methods, because, speaking in a historico-philosophical sense, he had the whole of the "old world" behind him, and because he, Südekum, has always betrayed, and will always betray, to the bourgeoisie all the military plans of its class enemy, speaking in the sense of practical politics.

It is a fact that the entire German Social-Democratic Party (and the same holds for the French and *other* parties) does *only* that which pleases Südekum or can be tolerated by Südekum. *Nothing else* can be done legally. Anything *honest* and really socialist that takes place in the German Social-Democratic Party, is done in *opposition* to its centres, by *circumventing* its Executive and Central Organ, by *violating* organisational discipline, in a *factional* manner, on behalf of new and anonymous centres of a new party, as was the case, for instance, with the German Lefts' manifesto published in *Berner Tagwacht* on May 31 of this year.[127] As a matter of fact, a *new* party is growing up, gaining strength and being organised, a real workers' party, a genuinely revolutionary Social-Democratic Party, unlike the old and corrupt national-liberal party of Legien, Südekum, Kautsky, Haase, Scheidemann and Co.*

* What happened before the historic voting of August 4 [for war credits.—*Ed.*] is extremely characteristic. The official party has cast the cloak of bureaucratic hypocrisy over this event, saying that the majority decided and that all voted unanimously *in favour*. But this hypocrisy was exposed by Ströbel who told the truth in the journal *Die Internationale*. The Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag split into *two* groups, each of whom came with an *ultimatum*, i.e., a dissentient decision, i.e., one signifying a split. One group, the opportunists, who were about thirty strong, decided to vote *in favour*, *under all circumstances*; the other and Left group numbering about fifteen, decided—less resolutely—to vote against. When the "Centre" or the "Marsh", who never take a firm stand, voted with the opportunists, the Lefts sustained a crushing defeat and—submitted! Talk about the "unity" of the German Social-Democrats is sheer hypocrisy, which actually covers up the inevitable submission of the Lefts to ultimatums from the opportunists.

It was, therefore, a profound historical truth that the opportunist "Monitor" blurted out in the conservative *Preussische Jahrbücher*[128] when he said it would be bad for the opportunists (*i.e.*, *the bourgeoisie*) if present-day Social-Democracy were to *swing to the right*—because in that case the workers would desert it. The opportunists (and the bourgeoisie) need the party as it is today, a party *combining* the Right and the Left wings and officially represented by Kautsky, who will be able to reconcile everything in the world by means of smooth, "thoroughly Marxist" phrases. In word, socialism and the revolutionary spirit for the people, the masses, the workers; indeed, Südekumism, adhering to the bourgeoisie in any grave crisis. We say: *any* crisis, because in any serious political strike, and not only in time of war, "feudalist" Germany like "free and parliamentary" Britain or France will *immediately* introduce martial law under one name or another. No one of sound mind and judgement can have any doubt about this.

Hence logically follows the reply to the question raised above, viz., how is social-chauvinism to be combated? Social-chauvinism is an opportunism which has matured to such a degree, grown so strong and brazen during the long period of comparatively "peaceful" capitalism, so definite in its political ideology, and so closely associated with the bourgeoisie and the governments, that the existence of *such a trend within* the Social-Democratic workers' parties *cannot* be tolerated. Flimsy, thin-soled shoes may be good enough to walk in on the well-paved streets of a small provincial town, but heavy hob-nailed boots are needed for walking in the hills. In Europe socialism has emerged from a comparatively peaceful stage that is confined within narrow and national limits. With the outbreak of the war of 1914-15, it entered the stage of revolutionary action; there can be no doubt that the time has come for a complete break with opportunism, for its expulsion from the workers' parties.

This definition of the tasks the new era of international development confronts socialism with does not, of course, immediately show how rapidly and in what definite forms the process of separation of the workers' revolutionary Social-Democratic parties from the petty-bourgeois opportunist parties will proceed in the various countries. It does,

however, reveal the need clearly to realise that such a separation is inevitable, and that the entire policy of the workers' parties must be directed from this standpoint. The war of 1914-15 is such a great turn in history that the attitude towards opportunism *cannot* remain the same as it has been. What has happened cannot be erased. It is impossible to obliterate from the minds of the workers, or from the experience of the bourgeoisie, or from the political lessons of our epoch in general, the fact that, at a moment of crisis, the opportunists proved to be the nucleus of those elements within the workers' parties that deserted to the bourgeoisie. Opportunism—to speak on a European scale—was in its adolescent stage, as it were, before the war. With the outbreak of the war it grew to manhood and its "innocence" and youth cannot be restored. An entire social stratum, consisting of parliamentarians, journalists, labour officials, privileged office personnel, and certain strata of the proletariat, has sprung up and has become *amalgamated* with its own national bourgeoisie, which has proved fully capable of appreciating and "adapting" it. The course of history cannot be turned back or checked—we can and must go fearlessly onward, from the preparatory legal working-class organisations, which are in the grip of opportunism, to revolutionary organisations that know how *not* to confine themselves to legality and are capable of safeguarding themselves against opportunist treachery, organisations of a proletariat that is beginning a "struggle for power", a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This, incidentally, proves how wrong are the views of those who befog both their own minds and those of the workers with the question as to what should he done with such outstanding authorities of the Second International as Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky, etc. In fact, no such question arises. If these persons fail to understand the new tasks, they will have to stand aside or remain as they are at present, in captivity to the opportunists. If these persons free themselves from "captivity" they are hardly likely to encounter *political* obstacles to their return to the camp of the revolutionaries. At all events, it is absurd to substitute the question of the role of individuals for the question of the struggle between trends and of the new period in the working-class movement.

VIII

Legal mass organisations of the working class are perhaps the most important feature of the socialist parties in the epoch of the Second International. They were the strongest in the German Party, and it was here that the war of 1914-15 created a most acute crisis and made the issue a most pressing one. The initiation of revolutionary activities would obviously have led to the dissolution of these legal organisations by the police, and the old party—from Legien to Kautsky inclusively—sacrificed the revolutionary aims of the proletariat for the sake of preserving the present legal organisations. No matter how much this may be denied, it is a fact. The proletariat's right to revolution was sold for a mess of pottage—organisations permitted by the present police law.

Take the pamphlet by Karl Legien, leader of the German Social-Democratic trade unions, entitled *Why Trade Union Officials Must Take a More Active Part in the Internal Life of the Party* (Berlin, 1915). This is a paper read by the author to a gathering of trade union officials on January 27, 1915. In the course of this lecture Legien read—and reproduced in his pamphlet—a most interesting document that would not otherwise have been passed by the military censor. This document—the so-called *Notes for Speakers in the District of Niederbarnim* (a suburb of Berlin)—is an exposition of the views of the German Left-wing Social-Democrats, of their protest against the Party. The revolutionary Social-Democrats, says the document, did not and could not foresee a certain factor, viz.:

"That the whole of the organised power of the German Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions would take the side of the war government, and that the whole of this power would be used for the purpose of suppressing the revolutionary energy of the masses" (p. 34 of Legien's pamphlet).

This is the absolute truth. Also true is the following statement contained in the same document:

"The vote of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on August 4 proved that a different attitude, even had it been deeply rooted in the masses, could not have asserted itself under the leadership of a tested party. It could have asserted itself only against the will of the

leading party bodies, only by overcoming the resistance of the party and the trade unions" (*ibid.*).

This is the absolute truth.

"Had the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag done its duty on August 4, the external form of organisation would probably have been destroyed, but the spirit would have remained, the spirit that animated the Party under the Anti-Socialist Law and helped it to overcome all difficulties" (*ibid.*).

It is pointed out in Legien's pamphlet that the "leaders", brought together to listen to his lecture and styling themselves leading trade union officials, *laughed* when they heard this. The idea that it was possible and necessary to organise illegal revolutionary organisations at a moment of crisis (as was done under the Anti-Socialist Law) seemed *ridiculous* to them. Legien, that most faithful watchdog of the bourgeoisie, exclaimed, beating his breast:

"This is an obviously anarchist idea: to wreck the organisation in order to bring about a solution of the problem by the masses. There is no doubt in my mind that this is an anarchist idea!"

"Hear, hear!" came a chorus of exclamations (*ibid.*, p. 37) from the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, who style themselves leaders of the Social-Democratic organisations of the working class.

An edifying picture. People are so degraded and stultified by bourgeois legality that they cannot even *conceive* of the need for organisations of *another* kind, *illegal* organisations, for the purpose of guiding the revolutionary struggle. So low have people fallen that they imagine that legal unions existing with the permission of the police are a kind of ultima Thule—as though the *preservation* of such unions as *leading* bodies is at all conceivable at a time of crisis! Here you have the living dialectic of opportunism: the mere growth of legal unions and the mere habit that stupid but conscientious philistines have of confining themselves to bookkeeping, have created a situation in which, during a crisis, these conscientious philistines have proved to be traitors and betrayers, who would *smother* the revolutionary energy of the masses. This is no chance occurrence. The building of a revolutionary organisation must be begun—that is demanded by the new historical situation, by the epoch

of proletarian revolutionary action—but it can be begun only *over the heads* of the old leaders, the stranglers of revolutionary energy, *over the heads* of the old party, through its *destruction*.

Of course, the counter-revolutionary philistines cry out "anarchism!", just as the opportunist Eduard David cried "anarchism" when he denounced Karl Liebknecht. In Germany, only those leaders seem to have remained honest socialists whom the opportunists revile as anarchists....

Take the army of today. It is a good example of organisation. This organisation is good only because it is *flexible* and is able at the same time to give millions of people *a single will*. Today these millions are living in their homes in various parts of the country; tomorrow mobilisation is ordered, and they report for duty. Today they lie in the trenches, and this may go on for months; tomorrow they are led to the attack in another order. Today they perform miracles in sheltering from bullets and shrapnel; tomorrow they perform miracles in hand-to-hand-combat. Today their advance detachments lay minefields; tomorrow they advance scores of miles guided by airmen flying overhead. When, in the pursuit of a single aim and animated by a single will, millions alter the forms of their communication and their behaviour, change the place and the mode of their activities, change their tools and weapons in accordance with the changing conditions and the requirements of the struggle—all this is genuine organisation.

The same holds true for the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Today there is no revolutionary situation, the conditions that cause unrest among the masses or heighten their activities do not exist; today you are given a ballot paper—take it, learn to organise so as to use it as a weapon against your enemies, not as a means of getting cushy legislative jobs for men who cling to their parliamentary seats for fear of having to go to prison. Tomorrow your ballot paper is taken from you and you are given a rifle or a splendid and most up-to-date quick-firing gun—take this weapon of death and destruction, pay no heed to the mawkish snivellers who are afraid of war; too much still remains in the world that *must* be destroyed with fire and sword for the emancipation of the working class; if anger and desperation grow

among the masses, if a revolutionary situation arises, prepare to create new organisations and *use* these useful weapons of death and destruction *against* your *own* government and your *own* bourgeoisie.

That is not easy, to be sure. It will demand arduous preparatory activities and heavy sacrifices. This is a *new* form of organisation and struggle that also *has to be learnt*, and knowledge is not acquired without errors and setbacks. This form of the class struggle stands in the same relation to participation in elections as an assault against a fortress stands in relation to manoeuvring, marches, or lying in the trenches. It *is not so often* that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come. *Days* on which *such* method of struggle can and must be employed are equal to *scores of years* of other historical epochs.

Compare K. Kautsky and K. Legien. Kautsky writes:

> "As long as the party was small, every protest against war had propaganda value as an act of bravery.... the conduct of the Russian and Serbian comrades has met with general appreciation. The stronger a party becomes, the more are the propaganda considerations, in the motives of its decisions, interwoven with the calculation of practical consequences, the more difficult does it become to give due regard equally to both motives, and yet neither of them must be neglected. Therefore, the stronger we become, the more easily differences arise between us in every new and complex situation" (*Internationalism and the War*, p. 30).

These arguments of Kautsky's differ from Legien's only in that they are hypocritical and cowardly. In substance, Kautsky supports and justifies the Legien's despicable renunciation of revolutionary activities, but he does so stealthily, without committing himself; he makes shift with hints, and confines himself to complimenting both Legien and the revolutionary behaviour of the Russians. We Russians are used to witnessing this kind of attitude towards revolutionaries only among the liberals; the latter are always ready to acknowledge the "courage" of the revolutionaries, but at the same time they will on no account renounce their ultra-opportunist tactics. Self-respecting revolutionaries will not accept Kautsky's "expressions of appreciation" and will indignantly reject such a presentation of the question. Were there no revolutionary situation, were it not obligatory

to propagate revolutionary action, the conduct of the Russians and Serbians would be *incorrect*, and their tactics would be wrong. Let such knightly persons as Legien and Kautsky at least have the courage of their convictions; let them say this openly.

If, however, the tactics of the Russian and Serbian socialists deserve "appreciation", then it is wrong and criminal to justify the *contrary* tactics of the "strong" parties, the German, the French, etc. By means of an intentionally vague expression—"practical consequences"—Kautsky has *concealed* the plain truth that the great and strong parties were *frightened* by the prospect of their organisations being dissolved, their funds sequestered and their leaders arrested by the government. This means that Kautsky justifies betrayal of socialism by pleading the unpleasant "practical consequences" that follow from revolutionary tactics. Is this not a prostitution of Marxism?

"We would have been arrested," one of the Social-Democratic deputies who voted for the war credits on August 4 is alleged to have declared at a workers' meeting in Berlin. The workers shouted in reply: "Well, what would have been bad about that?"

If there was no other *signal* that would instil in the German *and the French* working masses revolutionary sentiments and the need to prepare for revolutionary action, the arrest of a member of parliament for a courageous speech would have been useful as a call for *unity* of the proletarians of the various countries in their revolutionary work. It is *not easy* to bring about such unity; all the more was it the duty of members of parliament, whose high office made their purview of the entire political scene so extensive, *to take the initiative*.

Not only in wartime but positively in any acute political situation, to say nothing of periods of revolutionary mass action of any kind, the governments of even the *freest* bourgeois countries will threaten to dissolve the legal organisations, seize their funds, arrest their leaders, and threaten other "practical consequences" of the same kind. What are we to do then? Justify the opportunists on these grounds, as Kautsky does? But this would mean sanctifying the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties into national liberal-labour parties.

There is only one conclusion a socialist can draw, namely, that pure legalism, the legalism-and-nothing-but-legalism of the "European" parties, is now obsolete and, as a result of the development of capitalism in the pre-imperialist stage, has become the foundation for a bourgeois labour policy. It must be augmented by the creation of an illegal basis, an illegal organisation, illegal Social-Democratic work, without, however, surrendering a single legal position. Experience will show *how* this is to be done, if only the desire to take this road exists, as well as a realisation that it is necessary. In 1912-14, the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Russia proved that this problem can be solved. Muranov, the workers' deputy in the Duma, who at the trial behaved better than the rest and was exiled to Siberia, clearly demonstrated that—besides "*ministeriable*" parliamentarism (from Henderson, Sembat and Vandervelde down to Südekum and Scheidemann, the latter two are also being completely "ministeriable", although they are not admitted further than the anteroom!)—there can be *illegal and revolutionary* parliamentarism. Let the Kosovskys and Potresovs admire the "European" parliamentarism of the lackeys or accept it—we shall not tire of telling the workers that *such* legalism, *such* Social-Democracy of the Legien, Kautsky, Scheidemann brand, deserves nothing but contempt.

IX

To sum up.

The collapse of the Second International has been most strikingly expressed in the flagrant betrayal of their convictions and of the solemn Stuttgart and Basle resolutions by the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties of Europe. This collapse, however, which signifies the complete victory of opportunism, the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties into national liberal-labour parties, is merely the result of the entire historical epoch of the Second International—the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The objective conditions of this epoch—transitional from the consummation of West-European bourgeois and national revolutions to the beginning of socialist revolutions—engendered and fostered

opportunism. During this period we see a split in the working-class and socialist movement in some European countries, which, in the main, was cleavage along the line of opportunism (Britain, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria and Russia); in other countries, we see a long and stubborn struggle of trends along the same line (Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland). The crisis created by the great war has torn away all coverings, swept away conventions, exposed an abscess that has long come to a head, and revealed opportunism in its true role of ally of the bourgeoisie. The complete organisational severance of this element from the workers' parties has become imperative. The epoch of imperialism cannot permit the existence, in a single party, of the revolutionary proletariat's vanguard and the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class, who enjoy morsels of the privileges of their "own" nation's "Great-Power" status. The old theory that opportunism is a "legitimate shade" in a single party that knows no "extremes" has now turned into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement. Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice, and tries to prove, with a series of sophisms, that revolutionary action is premature, etc. Kautsky, the most outstanding spokesman of this theory, and also the leading authority in the Second International, has shown himself a consummate hypocrite and a past master in the art of prostituting Marxism. All members of the million-strong German party who are at all honest, class-conscious and revolutionary have turned away in indignation from an "authority" of this kind so ardently defended by the Südekums and the Scheidemanns.

The proletarian masses—probably about nine-tenths of whose former leaders have gone over to the bourgeoisie—have found themselves disunited and helpless amid a spate of chauvinism and under the pressure of martial law and the war censorship. But the objective war-created revolutionary situation, which is extending and developing, is inevitably engendering revolutionary sentiments; it is tempering and enlightening all the finest and most class-conscious prole-

tarians. A sudden change in the mood of the masses is not only possible, but is becoming more and more probable, a change similar to that which was to be seen in Russia early in 1905 in connection with the "Gaponade",[129] when, in the course of several months and sometimes of several weeks, there emerged from the backward proletarian masses an army of millions, which followed the proletariat's revolutionary vanguard. We cannot tell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will develop immediately after *this* war, or during it, etc., but at all events, it is *only* work in this direction that deserves the name of socialist work. The slogan of a civil war is the one that summarises and directs this work, and helps unite and consolidate those who wish to aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against its own government and its own bourgeoisie.

In Russia, the complete severance of the revolutionary Social-Democratic proletarian elements from the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements has been prepared by the entire history of the working-class movement. Those who disregard that history, and, by declaiming against "factionalism", make themselves incapable of understanding the real process of the formation of a proletarian party in Russia, which has developed in the course of many years of struggle against various varieties of opportunism, are rendering that movement the worst possible service. Of all the "Great" Powers engaged in the present war, Russia is the only one that recently experienced a revolution. The bourgeois content of that revolution, in which the proletariat nevertheless played a decisive part, could not but cause a split between the bourgeois and proletarian trends in the working-class movement. In the approximately twenty years (1894-1914) that Russian Social-Democracy has existed as an organisation linked with the mass working-class movement (and not only as an ideological trend, as in 1883-94), there was a struggle between the proletarian-revolutionary trends and the petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends. The Economism[130] of 1894-1902 was undoubtedly a trend of the latter kind. A number of its arguments and ideological features—the "Struvist distortion of Marxism, references to the "masses' in order to justify opportunism, and the like—bear a striking resemblance to the present vulgarised Marxism of Kautsky,

Cunow, Plekhanov, etc. It would be a very grateful task to remind the present generation of Social-Democrats of the old *Rabochaya Mysl*[131] and *Rabocheye Dyelo*, as[132] a parallel to the Kautsky of today.

The "Menshevism" of the next period (1903-08) was the direct successor, both ideological and organisational, to Economism. During the Russian revolution, it pursued tactics that objectively meant the dependence of the proletariat upon the liberal bourgeoisie, and expressed petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends. When, in the ensuing period (1908-14), the mainstream of the Menshevik trend produced liquidationism, the class significance of that trend became so apparent that the best representatives of Menshevism were continually protesting against the policy of *Nasha Zarya* group. It is that very group—the only one which, during the past five or six years, has conducted systematic work among the masses in *opposition* to the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class—that has proved to be *social-chauvinist* in the war of 1914-15! And this in a country where absolutism still exists, the bourgeois revolution is far from consummated, and forty-three per cent of the population oppresses a majority consisting of non-Russian nations. The "European" type of development, in which certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the intelligentsia and an insignificant section of the labour aristocracy can share in the "Great-Power" privileges of their "own" nation, could not but have its Russian counterpart.

All their history has prepared the working class and the workers' Social-Democratic Party of Russia for "internationalist" tactics, i.e., such that are truly revolutionary and consistently revolutionary.

P.S. This article had already been set when a manifesto appeared in the press, jointly issued by Kautsky, Haase and Bernstein, who, seeing that the masses are swinging to the left, are therefore now prepared to "make peace" with the Left wing—naturally, at the price of maintaining "peace" with the Südekums. Verily, *Mädchen für alle*!

BRITISH PACIFISM AND THE BRITISH DISLIKE OF THEORY

Political freedom has hitherto been far more extensive in Britain than elsewhere in Europe. Here, more than anywhere else, the bourgeoisie are used to governing and know how to govern. The relations between the classes are more developed and in many respects clearer than in other countries. The absence of conscription gives the people more liberty in their attitude towards the war *in the sense* that anyone may refuse to join the colours, which is why the government (which in Britain is a committee, in its purest form, for managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie) are compelled to bend every effort to rouse "popular" enthusiasm for the war. That aim could never be attained without a radical change in the laws, had the mass of proletarians not been completely disorganised and demoralised by the desertion to a Liberal, i.e., bourgeois, policy, of a minority of the best placed, skilled and unionised workers. The British trade unions comprise about one-fifth of all wage workers. Most trade union leaders are Liberals; Marx long ago called them agents of the bourgeoisie.

All these features of Britain help us, on the one hand, better to understand the essence of present-day social-chauvinism, that essence being *identical* in autocratic and democratic countries, in militarist and conscription-free countries; on the other hand, they help us to appreciate, on the basis of facts, the significance of that compromise with social-chauvinism which is expressed, for instance, in the extolling of the slogan of peace, etc.

The Fabian Society is undoubtedly the most consummate expression of opportunism and of Liberal-Labour policy.

The reader should look into the correspondence of Marx and Engels with Sorge (two Russian translations of which have appeared). There he will find an excellent characterisation of that society given by Engels, who treats Messrs. Sidney Webb & Co. as a gang of bourgeois rogues who would demoralise the workers, influence them in a counter-revolutionary spirit. One may vouch for the fact that no Second International leader with any responsibility and influence has ever attempted to refute this estimation of Engels's, or even to doubt its correctness.

Let us now compare the *facts*, leaving *theory* aside for a moment. You will see that the Fabians' *behaviour* during the war (see, for instance, their weekly paper, *The New Statesman*[133]), and that of the German Social-Democratic Party, including Kautsky, are *identical*. The same direct and indirect defence of social-chauvinism; the same combination of that defence with a readiness to utter all sorts of kindly, humane and near-Left phrases about peace, disarmament, etc., etc.

The fact stands, and the conclusion to be drawn—however unpleasant it may be to various persons—is inescapably and undoubtedly the following: in practice the leaders of the present-day German Social-Democratic Party, including Kautsky, are exactly the same kind of agents of the bourgeoisie that Engels called the Fabians long ago. The Fabians' non-recognition of Marxism and its "recognition" by Kautsky and Co. make no difference whatever in the essentials, in the facts of politics; the only thing proved is that some writers, politicians, etc., have converted Marxism into Struvism. Their hypocrisy is *not* a private vice with them; in individual cases they may be highly virtuous heads of families; their hypocrisy is the result of the objective falseness of their social status: they are supposed to represent the revolutionary proletariat, whereas they are actually agents charged with the business of inculcating bourgeois, chauvinist ideas in the proletariat.

The Fabians are more sincere and honest than Kautsky and Co., because they have not promised to stand for revolution; politically, however, they are of the *same* kidney.

The long history of Britain's political freedom and the developed condition of her political life in general, and of her

bourgeoisie in particular, have resulted in various *shades* of bourgeois opinion being able to find rapid, free and open expression in that country's new political organisations. One such organisation is the Union of Democratic Control, whose secretary and treasurer is E. D. Morel, now a regular contributor to *The Labour Leader*, the Independent Labour Party's central organ. This individual was for several years the Liberal Party's nominee for the Birkenhead constituency. When Morel came out *against* the war, shortly after its outbreak, the committee of the Birkenhead Liberal Association notified him, in a letter dated October 2, 1914, that his candidature would no longer be acceptable, i.e., he was simply expelled from the Party. Morel replied to this in a letter of October 14, which he subsequently published as a pamphlet entitled *The Outbreak of the War*. Like a number of other articles by Morel, the pamphlet exposes *his* government, proving the falseness of assertions that the rape of Belgium's neutrality caused the war, or that the war is aimed at the destruction of *Prussian* imperialism, etc., etc. Morel defends the programme of the Union of Democratic Control—peace, disarmament, all territories to have the right of self-determination by plebiscite, and the democratic control of foreign policy.

All this shows that as an individual, Morel undoubtedly deserves credit for his sincere sympathy with democracy, for turning away from the jingoist bourgeoisie to the pacifist bourgeoisie. When Morel cites the facts to prove that *his* government duped the people when it denied the existence of secret treaties although such treaties actually existed; that the British bourgeoisie, as early as 1887, fully realised that Belgium's neutrality would inevitably be violated in the event of a Franco-German war, and emphatically rejected the idea of interfering (Germany not yet being a dangerous competitor!); that in a number of books published before the war French militarists such as Colonel Boucher quite openly acknowledged the existence of plans for an *aggressive* war by France and Russia against Germany; that the well-known British military authority, Colonel Repington, admitted *in 1911* in the press, that the growth of Russian armaments after 1905 had been a threat to Germany —when Morel reveals all this, we cannot but admit that

we are dealing with an exceptionally honest and courageous bourgeois, who is not afraid to break with his own party.

Yet anyone will at once concede that, after all, Morel is a bourgeois, whose talk about peace and disarmament is a lot of empty phrases, since without revolutionary action by the proletariat there can be neither a democratic peace nor disarmament. Though he has broken with the Liberals on the question of the present war, Morel remains a Liberal on all other economic and political issues. Why is it, then, that when Kautsky, in Germany, gives a Marxist guise to the *selfsame bourgeois phrases* about peace and disarmament, this is not considered hypocrisy on his part, but stands to his merit? Only the undeveloped character of political relations and the absence of political freedom prevent the formation in Germany, as rapidly and smoothly as in Britain, of a bourgeois league for peace and disarmament, with Kautsky's programme.

Let us, then, admit the truth that Kautsky's stand is that of a pacifist bourgeois, not of a revolutionary Social-Democrat.

The events we are living amidst are great enough for us to be courageous in recognising the truth, no matter whom it may concern.

With their dislike of abstract theory and their pride in their practicality, the British often pose political issues *more directly*, thus helping the socialists of other countries to discover the actual content *beneath* the husk of wording of every-kind (including the "Marxist"). Instructive in this respect is the pamphlet *Socialism and War*,* published before the war by the jingoist paper, *The Clarion*. The pamphlet contains an anti-war "manifesto" by Upton Sinclair, the U.S. socialist, and also a reply to him from the jingoist Robert Blatchford, who has long adopted Hyndman's imperialist viewpoint.

Sinclair is a socialist of the emotions, without any theoretical training. He states the issue in "simple" fashion; incensed by the approach of war, he seeks salvation from it in socialism.

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* *Socialism and War*. The Clarion Press, 44 Worship Street, London, E. C.

"We are told," Sinclair writes, "that the socialist movement is yet too weak so that we must wait for its evolution. But evolution is working in the hearts of men; we are its instruments, and if we do not struggle, there is no evolution. We are told that the movement [against war] would be crushed out; but I declare my faith that the crushing out of any rebellion which sought, from motive of sublime humanity, to prevent war, would be the greatest victory that socialism has ever gained—would shake the conscience of civilisation and rouse the workers of the world as nothing in all history has yet done. Let us not be too fearful for our movement, nor put too much stress upon numbers and the outward appearances of power. A thousand men aglow with faith and determination are stronger than a million grown cautious and respectable; and there is no danger to the socialist movement so great as the danger of becoming an established institution."

This, as can be seen, is a naïve, theoretically unreasoned, but profoundly correct warning against any vulgarising of socialism, and a call to revolutionary struggle.

What does Blatchford say in reply to Sinclair?

"It is capitalists and militarists who make wars. That is true...," he says. Blatchford is as anxious for peace and for socialism taking the place of capitalism as any socialist in the world. But Sinclair will not convince him, or do away with the facts with "rhetoric and fine phrases". "Facts, my dear Sinclair, are obstinate things, and the German danger is a fact." Neither the British nor the German socialists are strong enough to prevent war, and "Sinclair greatly exaggerates the power of British socialism. The British socialists ... are not united; they have no money, no arms, no discipline". The only thing they can do is *to help* the British Government build up the navy; there is not, nor can there be, any other guarantee of peace.

Neither before nor since the outbreak of the war have the chauvinists ever been so outspoken in Continental Europe. In Germany it is not frankness that is prevalent, but Kautsky's hypocrisy and playing at sophistry. The same is true of Plekhanov. That is why it is so instructive to cast a glance at the situation in a more advanced country, where nobody will be taken in with sophisms or a travesty of Marxism. Here

issues are stated in a more straightforward and truthful manner. Let us learn from the "advanced" British.

Sinclair is naïve in his appeal, although fundamentally it is a very correct one; he is naïve because he ignores the development of mass socialism over the last fifty years and the struggle of trends within socialism; he ignores the conditions for the growth of revolutionary action when an objectively revolutionary situation and a revolutionary organisation exist. The "emotional" approach cannot make up for that. The intense and bitter struggle between powerful trends in socialism, between the opportunist and revolutionary trends, cannot be evaded by the use of rhetoric.

Blatchford speaks out undisguisedly, revealing the most covert argument of the Kautskyites and Co., who are afraid to tell the truth. We are still weak, that is all, says Blatchford; but his outspokenness at once lays bare his opportunism, his jingoism. It at once becomes obvious that he serves the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. By declaring that socialism is "*weak*" he *himself weakens* it by preaching an anti-socialist, bourgeois, policy.

Like Sinclair, but conversely, like a coward and not like a fighter, like a traitor and not like the recklessly brave, he, too, ignores the conditions making for a revolutionary situation.

As for his practical conclusions, his policy (the rejection of revolutionary action, of propaganda for such action and preparation of it), Blatchford, the vulgar jingoist, is in *complete* accord with Plekhanov and Kautsky.

Marxist words have in our days become a cover for a total renunciation of Marxism; to be a Marxist, one must expose the "Marxist hypocrisy" of the leaders of the Second International, fearlessly recognise the struggle of the two trends in socialism, and get to the bottom of the problems relating to that struggle. Such is the conclusion to be drawn from British relationships, which show us the *Marxist* essence of the matter, *without* Marxist words.

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HOW SERVILITY TO REACTION IS BLENDED WITH PLAYING AT DEMOCRACY

The Cadet collection of articles entitled *What Russia Expects of the War* (Petrograd, 1915) is a very useful book for those wishing to acquaint themselves with the politics of the liberal intelligentsia. The extent to which our Cadets and liberals have turned chauvinist is sufficiently known. The present issue of our magazine contains a special article on this question. However, the assembly, in one book of the works of various Cadets dealing with a variety of subjects bearing on the war shows concretely the role, not only of the Constitutional-Democratic Party in present-day imperialist politics, but also of the liberal intelligentsia as a whole.

The specific function of such an intelligentsia and of this particular party is to disguise reaction and imperialism with all kinds of democratic phrases, assurances, sophisms, and subterfuges. The principal article in the book, entitled "Russia's Territorial Acquisitions", is by Milyukov, the Cadet leader. An article like this could not but set forth the *actual significance* of the present war, as far as Russia is concerned: her desire to seize Galicia, and take part of Poland from Austria and Germany, and Constantinople, the Straits, and Armenia from Turkey. To provide a democratic screen, phrases are pronounced about "Slav unity", the interests of "small nationalities", and the "menace to European peace" presented by Germany. Only in passing, almost casually as it were, does Milyukov blurt out the truth in one of his sentences

"To unite Eastern Galicia with Russia has long been the aim of a Russian political party which has the backing of

one of the political parties in Galicia, the so-called Moscowphiles" (p. 49). Exactly! The Russian party referred to is the most reactionary in Russia, that of Purishkevich and Co., a party of the feudalist-minded landowners led by tsarism. This "party"—tsarism, the Purishkeviches and the rest—have long been intriguing both in Galicia and Armenia, etc. spending millions on bribing the "Moscowphiles", stopping at no crime to achieve the lofty aim of "uniting" Eastern Galicia with Russia. War is a "continuation of the politics" of *this* party. The war has been useful in having brushed aside all conventions, torn away all veils, let the people see the full truth with their own eyes: preservation of the tsarist monarchy means the need to sacrifice millions of lives (and thousands of millions of the people's money) so as to enslave other nations. In practice, it is these policies that have been backed and served by the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

This truth is unpalatable to the liberal intellectual, who considers himself humane, freedom-loving, and democratic, and is deeply indignant at the "calumny" that asserts he is a servant to the Purishkeviches. The war, however, has shown this "calumny" to be the most obvious truth.

Let us cast a glance at other articles in the book.

"Our future can be happy and bright only when international politics rest on a foundation of justice. Faith in life and its value will at the same time be the triumph of peace... [215]. Russian women, and with them all thinking humanity..." hope that "when peace is concluded, all the belligerent states will simultaneously sign a pact according to which all international misunderstandings [what a word! As if what has happened among states were merely "misunderstandings"!] ... shall be settled by arbitration" (216).

"Russian women, who represent the people, will carry into the people the ideas of Christian love and the brotherhood of nations ... [216]. [Here the censor has deleted one line and a half, apparently super-"humanitarian" expressions such as liberty, equality, fraternity.] ... Those who know that the writer of these lines can least of all be suspected of nationalism, do not need to be persuaded that the ideas propounded here have nothing whatsoever in common

with any kind of national exclusiveness... [83]. Only now do we realise and actually feel that in modern wars we are threatened, not by the loss of colonies, however precious, or by failure to free other nations, but by disintegration of the state itself...” (147).

Read and give thought to *how it is being done*! Learn how an allegedly democratic party conducts its politics, i.e., leads the *masses*!

To serve the class of the Purishkeviches, one must, at the decisive moments of history (at times when the aims of that class are to be achieved by war), help that class, or at least “*offer no resistance to the war*”. At the same time, one must *console* the “people”, the “masses”, and “democracy”, with fine words such as justice, peace, national liberation, settling international conflicts by arbitration, the brotherhood of nations, liberty, reforms, democracy, universal suffrage, etc. In doing so, one must beat one’s breast in token of sincerity, aver and swear that “we” “can least of all be suspected of nationalism”, that “our” ideas have “nothing whatsoever in common with any kind of national exclusiveness”, and that we are only fighting against “disintegration of the state”!

That is how “it is being done”.

That is how the liberal intellectuals make politics.

The liberal-labour politicians are behaving essentially in exactly the same way, but in a different environment and in a slightly modified form. These range from *Nasha Zarya*, which teaches the people and the proletariat “to offer no resistance to the war”, continuing with *Nashe Dyelo*, which identifies itself with the views of Messrs. Potresov and Co. (No. 2, p. 19) and Plekhanov (No. 2, p. 103) and which reprints without a single dissenting remark similar ideas of Axelrod (No. 2, pp. 107-10), continuing further with Semkovsky, who battles in *Nashe Slovo* and in *Izvestia* of the Organising Committee against “disintegration”, to Chkheidze’s group, the Organising Committee and the Bund, who are fighting tooth and nail against a “split” (with the *Nashe Dyelo* group). Moreover, they all stand for the brotherhood of the workers, peace, internationalism, and whatever you please; they will sign whatever you wish; they will renounce “nationalism” millions of times, on the

single and "minor" condition—that "unity" should not be sundered with that Russian political group which alone (of the entire company) has some weight and, in journal and newspaper, has been teaching the workers opportunism, nationalism, and non-resistance to the war.

That is how "it is being done".

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Signed: *N. Lenin*

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THE MAIN GERMAN OPPORTUNIST WORK ON THE WAR

Eduard David's book *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg* (*Vorwärts* Publishers, Berlin, 1915) provides a good collection of facts and arguments on the tactics pursued by the official German Social-Democratic Party in the present war. Those who follow opportunist literature and that of the German Social-Democrats in general will find nothing new in this book. It is, however, quite useful, and not only for purposes of reference. Anyone who would gain a deeper insight into the historic collapse of German Social-Democracy, anyone who really wishes to understand the reasons why a leading Social-Democratic party has "suddenly" (allegedly all of a sudden) become a party of lackeys of the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers, anyone who wishes to inquire into the meaning of the commonplace sophisms which serve to justify or conceal that collapse, will find David's dull book far from tedious. As a matter of fact, there is an integral quality in David's opinions; he has the conviction of a liberal-labour politician, something that is entirely missing in the works of Kautsky, for instance, that hypocrite who trims his sails to the wind.

David is an opportunist through and through, a contributor of long standing to *Sozialistische Monatshefte*—the German counterpart of *Nashe Dyelo*; he is the author of a big volume on the agrarian question, which contains not even a grain of socialism or Marxism. The very fact that a person like this, whose entire life has been devoted to corrupting the working-class movement in the bourgeois spirit, has become one of many just as opportunist party *leaders*, a Deputy, and even a member of the Executive (*Vorstand*)

of the German Social-Democratic parliamentary party, is a serious enough indication of the extent, depth and violence of the process of putrefaction within the German Social-Democracy.

David's book is of no scientific value whatever, since the author cannot or will not even pose the question of how the principal classes of present-day society have for decades been preparing, encouraging and building up their present attitude towards the war, this through *definite* politics that stem from *definite* class interests. Even the thought that, without an examination like the one just mentioned, no Marxist attitude towards the war can exist, and that only an examination such as this can provide the basis for a study of the *ideology* of the various classes in their attitude towards the war, is entirely alien to David. He is an *advocate* of a liberal-labour policy, who adapts all his exposition and all his arguments to the task of influencing *working-class* audiences, concealing from them the weak points in his stand, making liberal tactics acceptable to them, and stifling proletarian revolutionary instincts with the aid of the greatest possible number of authoritative examples from "The Socialists' Tactics in the West-European States" (Chapter 7 in David's book), etc., etc.

From the ideological standpoint David's book is therefore interesting only inasmuch as it provides an opportunity to analyse how the bourgeoisie *should* speak to the workers *in order to influence them*. The essence of Eduard David's ideological stand, considered from this angle, the only correct one, is contained in the following proposition: "The significance of our vote [for war credits]=*We voted*, *not for war but against defeat*" (p. 3, table of contents, and many passages in the book). This is the theme of the entire book. To back this main thesis, David has hand-picked examples of the way Marx, Engels and Lassalle regarded Germany's national wars (Chapter 2), data on the Triple Entente's vast plans of conquest (Chapter 4), as well as facts from the diplomatic history of the war (Chapter 5), the latter being nothing more than an attempt to whitewash Germany by referring to the ridiculously trivial and no less ridiculously insincere official exchange of telegrams on the eve of the war, etc. A special chapter (6) entitled "The Magnitude of

the Danger" contains considerations and figures on the Triple Entente's preponderance of might, the reactionary nature of tsarism, etc. Of course, David is fully in favour of peace. The preface to the book, dated May 1, 1915, winds up with the slogan, "Peace on Earth!" David, of course, considers himself an internationalist: the German Social-Democratic Party, he says, "has not betrayed the spirit of the International" (p. 8); it has "fought against the sowing of poisonous hatred among the peoples" (p. 8); it "has declared since the very first day of the war that in principle it is ready for peace as soon as the security of the country has been achieved" (p. 8).

David's book strikingly reveals that, to influence the workers and the masses in general, the liberal bourgeoisie (and their agents in the labour movement, i.e., the opportunists) are prepared to swear allegiance to internationalism any number of times, accept the peace slogan, renounce the annexationist aims of the war, condemn chauvinism, and so on and so forth—anything *except* revolutionary action against their own government, anything in the world, if only they can come out "against defeat". In point of fact, this ideology, in terms of mathematics, is both *necessary and sufficient* to fool the workers. One cannot offer them less because the masses cannot be rallied unless they are promised a just peace, and scared with the danger of invasion, and unless allegiance to internationalism is sworn to; one *need not* offer them more because all that is "more", i.e., the seizure of colonies, the annexation of foreign territories, the pillaging of conquered countries, the conclusion of advantageous trade agreements, etc., will be effected, *not* directly by the liberal bourgeoisie, but by the imperialist-militarist governmental war clique *after* the war.

The roles are well distributed; while the government and the military clique—with the support of the multi-millionaires and all bourgeois "men of affairs"—are waging the war, the liberals console and dupe the masses with the nationalist ideology of a defensive war, with promises of a democratic peace, etc. Eduard David's ideology is that of the liberal and humanitarian pacifist bourgeois; so is the ideology of the Russian opportunists in the Organising Committee, who are waging a struggle against the desirability

of defeat, against the disintegration of Russia, for the peace slogan, etc.

A non-liberal brand of tactics, one that differs in principle from the above, begins with the onset of a decisive break with *any* attempts to justify participation in the war, with the *practical* conduct of a policy of propaganda and preparation for revolutionary action, in wartime and with the full exploitation of wartime difficulties, against the respective governments. David does *approach* this borderline, the real line between bourgeois and proletarian politics, but he approaches it only with the purpose of glossing over an unpleasant subject. He mentions the Basle Manifesto several times, but he carefully steers clear of all its revolutionary passages; he recalls how Vaillant appealed in Basle "for a military strike and social revolution" (p. 119), but does so only to *defend* himself by using the example of the chauvinist Vaillant, not in order to cite and analyse the revolutionary directives of the resolution of the Basle Congress.

David quotes a considerable portion of our Central Committee's Manifesto, including its main slogan—the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war—but he does it only to declare that these "Russian" tactics are nothing short of "madness" and "gross distortion of the decisions of the International" (pp. 169, 172). This, he says, is Hervéism (p. 176); Hervé's book, he says "contains the whole theory of Lenin, Luxemburg, Radek, Pannekoek, etc." But, my dear David, is not there some Hervéism in the revolutionary passages of the Basle resolution and the *Communist Manifesto*? The mention of the latter document is just as unpleasant to David as the name of our journal, which is reminiscent of that very document, is unpleasant to Semkovsky. The thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* to the effect that "the workingmen have no country" has, as David is convinced, "long been disproved" (p. 176 ff.). As to the question of nationalities, the entire concluding chapter of David's book offers us the most unmitigated bourgeois nonsense about the "biological law of differentiation" (!), etc.

What is international is not at all anti-national; we stand for the right of nations to self-assertion; we are

against the browbeating of weak nations, David asserts, failing to understand (or rather pretending not to understand) that justifying participation in the imperialist war and advancing the "against-defeat" slogan in this war means acting, not only as an anti-socialist, but also as an anti-national politician. For the present-day imperialist war is a war between Great Powers (i.e., powers that oppress a number of other nations), conducted *for the purpose* of oppressing new nations. One cannot be "national" in an imperialist war otherwise than by being a socialist politician, i.e., by recognising the right of oppressed nations to liberation, to secession from the Great Powers that oppress them. In the era of imperialism, there can be no other *salvation* for *most* of the world's nations than through revolutionary action undertaken by the proletariat of the Great Powers, spreading beyond the boundaries of nationality, smashing those boundaries, and overthrowing the international bourgeoisie. Until the bourgeoisie is overthrown, there will remain nations known as "Great Powers", i.e., the oppression will remain of nine-tenths of the nations of the whole world. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie will enormously accelerate the downfall of national *partitions* of every kind, this without decreasing but, on the contrary, increasing a millionfold the "differentiation" of humanity, in the meaning of the wealth and the variety in spiritual life, ideological trends, tendencies, and shades.

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THE DEFEAT OF ONE'S OWN GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR

During a reactionary war a revolutionary class cannot but desire the defeat of its government.

This is axiomatic, and disputed only by conscious partisans or helpless satellites of the social-chauvinists. Among the former, for instance, is Semkovsky of the Organising Committee (No. 2 of its *Izvestia*), and among the latter, Trotsky and Bukvoyed,[134] and Kautsky in Germany. To desire Russia's defeat, Trotsky writes, is "an uncalled-for and absolutely unjustifiable concession to the political methodology of social-patriotism, which would replace the revolutionary struggle against the war and the conditions causing it, with an orientation—highly arbitrary in the present conditions—towards the lesser evil" (*Nashe Slovo* No. 105).

This is an instance of high-flown phraseology with which Trotsky always justifies opportunism. A "revolutionary struggle against the war" is merely an empty and meaningless exclamation, something at which the heroes of the Second International excel, *unless* it means revolutionary action against *one's own government* even in wartime. One has only to do some thinking in order to understand this. Wartime revolutionary action against one's own government indubitably means, not only desiring its defeat, but really facilitating such a defeat. ("Discerning reader": note that this does not mean "blowing up bridges", organising unsuccessful strikes in the war industries, and in general helping the government defeat the revolutionaries.)

The phrase-bandying Trotsky has completely lost his bearings on a simple issue. It seems to him that to desire

Russia's defeat *means* desiring the victory of Germany. (Bukvoyed and Semkovsky give more direct expression to the "thought", or rather want of thought, which they share with Trotsky.) But Trotsky regards this as the "methodology of social-patriotism"! To help people that are unable to think for themselves, the Berne resolution (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40)* made it clear that in *all* imperialist countries the proletariat must now desire the defeat of its own government. Bukvoyed and Trotsky preferred to avoid this truth, while Semkovsky (an opportunist who is more useful to the working class than all the others, thanks to his naïvely frank reiteration of bourgeois wisdom) blurted out the following: "This is nonsense, because either Germany or Russia can win" (*Izvestia* No. 2).

Take the example of the Paris Commune. France was defeated by Germany but the workers were defeated by Bismarck and Thiers! Had Bukvoyed and Trotsky done a little thinking, they would have realised that *they* have adopted the viewpoint on the war held by *governments and the bourgeoisie*, i.e., that they cringe to the "political methodology of social-patriotism", to use Trotsky's pretentious language.

A revolution in wartime means civil war; the *conversion* of a war between governments into a civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ("defeats") of governments; on the other hand, one *cannot* actually strive for such a conversion without thereby facilitating defeat.

The reason why the chauvinist (including the Organising Committee and the Chkheidze group) repudiate the defeat "slogan" is that *this slogan alone* implies a consistent call for revolutionary action against one's own government in wartime. Without such action, millions of ultra-revolutionary phrases such as a war against "the war and the conditions, etc." are not worth a brass farthing.

Anyone who would in all earnest refute the "slogan" of defeat for one's own government in the imperialist war should prove one of three things: (1) that the war of 1914-15 is not reactionary, or (2) that a revolution stemming from that war is impossible, or (3) that co-ordination and mutual aid are possible between revolutionary movements in *all* the

* See p. 163 of this volume.—*Ed.*

belligerent countries. The third point is particularly important to Russia, a most backward country, where an immediate socialist revolution is impossible. That is why the Russian Social-Democrats had to be the first to advance the "theory and practice" of the defeat "slogan". The tsarist government was perfectly right in asserting that the agitation conducted by the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma—the *sole* instance in the International, not only of parliamentary opposition but of genuine revolutionary anti-government agitation among the masses—that this agitation has weakened Russia's "military might" and is likely to lead to its defeat. This is a fact to which it is foolish to close one's eyes.

The opponents of the defeat slogan are simply afraid of themselves when they refuse to recognise the very obvious fact of the inseparable link between revolutionary agitation against the government and helping bring about its defeat.

Are co-ordination and mutual aid possible between the Russian movement, which is revolutionary in the bourgeois-democratic sense, and the socialist movement in the West? No socialist who has publicly spoken on the matter during the last decade has doubted this, the movement among the Austrian proletariat after October 17, 1905,[135] *actually* proving it possible.

Ask any Social-Democrat who calls himself an internationalist whether or not he approves of an understanding between the Social-Democrats of the various belligerent countries on joint revolutionary action against all belligerent governments. Many of them will reply that it is impossible, as Kautsky has done (*Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914), thereby *fully proving* his social-chauvinism. This, on the one hand, is a deliberate and vicious lie, which clashes with the generally known facts and the Basle Manifesto. On the other hand, if it were true, *the opportunists would be quite right in many respects*!

Many will voice their approval of such an understanding. To this we shall say: if this approval is not hypocritical, it is ridiculous to think that, in wartime and for the conduct of a war, some "formal" understanding is necessary, such as the election of representatives, the arrangement of a meeting, the signing of an agreement, and the choice of the day

and hour! Only the Semkovskys are capable of thinking so. An understanding on revolutionary action even in a *single* country, to say nothing of a number of countries, can be achieved *only* by the force of the *example* of serious revolutionary action, by *launching* such action and *developing* it. However, such action cannot be launched without desiring the defeat of the government, and without contributing to such a defeat. The conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war cannot be "made", any more than a revolution can be "made". It *develops* out of a number of diverse phenomena, aspects, features, characteristics and consequences of the imperialist war. That development is *impossible* without a series of military reverses and defeats of governments that receive blows from their *own* oppressed classes.

To repudiate the defeat slogan means allowing one's revolutionary ardour to degenerate into an empty phrase, or sheer hypocrisy.

What is the substitute proposed for the defeat slogan? It is that of "neither victory nor defeat" (Semkovsky in *Izvestia* No. 2; also the *entire* Organising Committee in No. 1). This, however, is nothing but a paraphrase of the "*defence of the fatherland*" slogan. It means shifting the issue to the level of a war between governments (who, according to the content of this slogan, are to *keep* to their old stand, "retain their positions"), and not to the level of the *struggle* of the oppressed classes against their governments! It means justifying the chauvinism of *all* the imperialist nations, whose bourgeoisie are always ready to say—*and do say to the people*—that they are "only" fighting "against defeat". "The significance of our August 4 vote was that we are not for war *but against defeat*," David, a leader of the opportunists, writes in his book. The Organising Committee, together with Bukvoyed and Trotsky, stand on *fully* the same ground as David when they defend the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan.

On closer examination, this slogan will be found to mean a "class truce", the renunciation of the class struggle by the oppressed classes in all belligerent countries, since the class struggle is impossible without dealing blows at one's "own" bourgeoisie, one's "own" government, whereas dealing a

blow at one's own government in wartime *is* (for Bukvoyed's information) high treason, *means* contributing to the defeat of one's own country. Those who accept the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan can only be hypocritically in favour of the class struggle, of "disrupting the class truce"; *in practice*, such people are renouncing an independent proletarian policy because they subordinate the proletariat of all belligerent countries to the *absolutely bourgeois* task of safeguarding the imperialist governments against defeat. The only policy of actual, not verbal disruption of the "class truce", of acceptance of the class struggle, is for the proletariat *to take advantage* of the *difficulties* experienced by its government and its bourgeoisie *in order to overthrow them*. This, however, cannot be achieved or *striven for*, without desiring the defeat of one's own government and without contributing to that defeat.

When, before the war, the Italian Social-Democrats raised the question of a mass strike, the bourgeoisie replied, no doubt correctly from their *own* point of view, that this would be high treason, and that Social-Democrats would be dealt with as traitors. That is true, just as it is true that fraternisation in the trenches is high treason. Those who write against "high treason", as Bukvoyed does, or against the "disintegration of Russia", as Semkovsky does, are adopting the bourgeois, not the proletarian point of view. A proletarian *cannot* deal a class blow at his government or hold out (in fact) a hand to his brother, the proletarian of the "foreign" country which is at war with "our side", *without committing* "high treason", *without contributing* to the defeat, to the *disintegration* of his "own", imperialist "Great" Power.

Whoever is in favour of the slogan of "neither victory nor defeat" is consciously or unconsciously a chauvinist; at best he is a conciliatory petty bourgeois but in any case he is an *enemy* to proletarian policy, a partisan of the existing governments, of the present-day ruling classes.

Let us look at the question from yet another angle. The war cannot but evoke among the masses the most turbulent sentiments, which upset the usual sluggish state of mass mentality. Revolutionary tactics are *impossible* if they are not adjusted to these new turbulent sentiments.

What are the main currents of these turbulent sentiments? They are: (1) Horror and despair. Hence, a growth of religious feeling. Again the churches are crowded, the reactionaries joyfully declare. "Wherever there is suffering there is religion," says the arch-reactionary Barres. He is right, too. (2) Hatred of the "enemy", a sentiment that is carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie (not so much by the priests), and is of economic and political value *only to the bourgeoisie*. (3) Hatred of one's *own* government and one's *own* bourgeoisie—the sentiment of all class-conscious workers who understand, on the one hand, that war is a "continuation of the politics" of imperialism, which they counter by a "continuation" of their hatred of their class enemy, and, on the other hand, that "a war against war" is a banal phrase unless it means a revolution against their *own* government. Hatred of one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie cannot be aroused unless their defeat is desired; one *cannot* be a sincere opponent of a civil (i.e., class) truce without arousing hatred of one's own government and bourgeoisie!

Those who stand for the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan are in fact on the side of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, for they do not believe in the possibility of international revolutionary action by the working class against their own governments, and *do not wish* to help develop such action, which, though undoubtedly difficult, is the only task worthy of a proletarian, the only socialist task. It is the proletariat in the most backward of the belligerent Great Powers which, through the medium of their party, have had to adopt—especially in view of the shameful treachery of the German and French Social-Democrats—revolutionary tactics that are quite unfeasible unless they "contribute to the defeat" of their own government, but which alone lead to a European revolution, to the permanent peace of socialism, to the liberation of humanity from the horrors, misery, savagery and brutality now prevailing.

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THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The second issues of the Organising Committee's *Izvestia* and of *Nashe Dyelo* reveal this state of affairs in a most instructive and illuminating way. Both papers, each in its own way, and in accordance with their places of publication and their political aim, are purposefully directing their efforts towards strengthening social-chauvinism.

Nashe Dyelo has not only failed to inform the readers of any differences or shades of opinion among its editors, has not only failed to raise the faintest objection to "Potresovism", but has voiced, in a special "editorial" statement (p. 19), its solidarity with Potresovism by declaring that "internationalism" calls for an "orientation in the international situation" which will help decide the success of *which* bourgeoisie in the present war is more desirable to the proletariat. This means that *all* the editors are basically and essentially social-chauvinists. Besides, it is only on shades of social-chauvinism that the editors disagree with Kautsky, whose pamphlet, entirely devoted to justification of international social-chauvinism, they have endowed with such epithets as "brilliant", "exhaustive" and "theoretically valuable". Whoever has eyes to see cannot but notice that the *Nashe Dyelo*'s editors are, firstly, thereby sanctioning Russian chauvinism, and secondly, have expressed readiness to amnesty international social-chauvinism and reconcile themselves to it.

In the section "In Russia and Abroad", the paper quotes the views of Plekhanov and Axelrod, which the editors (with good reason) do not distinguish between. A special note, again *editorial* (p. 103), declares that Plekhanov's "views coincide in many respects" with those of *Nashe Dyelo*.

The picture could not be clearer. That legalist "current" which finds expression in *Nashe Dyelo* and, thanks to a thousand links with the liberal bourgeoisie, has, alone out of the entire "Brussels bloc", been a reality in Russia in 1910-15, has fully consolidated and completed its opportunist development, supplementing liquidationism with social-chauvinism. The actual programme of that group, which was expelled from our Party[136] in January 1912, has been augmented with a new and very important item: the propagation in the working class of ideas which call for the preservation and enlargement, even at the price of war if necessary, of the dominant-nation advantages and privileges of the Great-Russian landowners and bourgeoisie.

An attempt to conceal this political reality with "Left" phrases and quasi-Social-Democratic ideology—such is the actual political significance of the legal activities of the Chkheidze group and of the Organising Committee's illegal activities. In the realm of ideology the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan; in the realm of practice—an anti-"split" struggle which permeates literally *all* the articles in *Izvestia*'s second issue, particularly those by Martov, Yonov, and Mashinadze—such is the businesslike and (from the opportunists' standpoint) perfectly correct programme of "peace" with *Nashe Dyelo* and Plekhanov. Read the letter of Mr. Alexinsky, the "former revolutionary", in *Rech* No. 143 (May 27, 1915), on "defence of the country" as the "task of democracy", and you will see that this zealous henchman of Plekhanov, the chauvinist of today, will get fully reconciled to the slogan of "neither victory nor defeat". In fact, this is a slogan *common* to Plekhanov, *Nashe Dyelo*, Axelrod and Kosovsky, Martov and Semkovsky, who will of course (no doubt about that!) keep their "quite legitimate shades" and "differences on details". In the ideological sense and on the fundamentals, this fraternity are content with accepting as common ground the slogan of "neither victory nor defeat" (speaking parenthetically; *whose* victories or defeats? Obviously, those of the *existing governments*, of the present-day ruling classes!). In the sphere of practical policies, they are content with the "unity" slogan, i.e., *unity* with *Nashe Dyelo*, which means acceptance of the fact that, in Russia, *Nashe Dyelo* will, with the aid of the Chkheidze

group, continue to conduct serious policies and do serious work among the masses ("serious" in the bourgeois sense), while abroad and underground, the Organising Committee and Co. will permit themselves "Left" petty reservations and near-revolutionary phrases, and so on and so forth. Let us harbour no illusions: the Brussels bloc which immediately fell apart, thus proving that it contained nothing but hypocrisy, is, for that very reason, highly suited to covering up a politically unsavoury situation. In July 1914, it covered up *Nasha Zarya* and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* with non-committal near-Left resolutions. In July 1915, there is as yet no "meeting of friends" and no "Minutes", but there is already an agreement, in principle, between the chief "actors" regarding joint concealment of the social-chauvinism of *Nashe Dyelo*, Plekhanov and Axelrod by using the same kind of near-Left phrases. A year has passed, a grave and important year in the history of Europe. It has become apparent that the abscess of national liberal-labour politics has *asphyxiated* most of the Social-Democratic parties of Europe and that it has come to a head within liquidationism too—but the "friends", like the musicians in Krylov's fable "The Quartet"[137] have only changed seats to strike up in chorus and in false tones the same old song. Unity, unity—(with *Nashe Dyelo*)!

The example of *Nashe Slovo*, which comes out in Paris, is particularly instructive to sincere adherents of "unity". Issue No. 2 of the Organising Committee's *Izvestia* has dealt *Nashe Slovo* a mortal blow so that the latter's demise (political or "physical", it does not matter very much) is now only a matter of time. Issue No. 2 of the Organising Committee's *Izvestia* has "killed" *Nashe Slovo* simply by declaring that Martov (who found himself a member of the Organising Committee's secretariat, evidently having been "unanimously" co-opted by Semkovsky and Axelrod, probably in exchange for his consent to repeat no more unguarded phrases about the "death" of *Vorwärts*) and "a good half of the contributors to *Nashe Slovo*, who are organisationally attached to the Organising Committee", have *admitted their error*, they have admitted that they "*naïvely*" (Martov in the role of an *ingénu*, quite an eyeful!) considered *Nashe Slovo* the "joint organ of the Russian internation-

alists", whereas in reality *Nashe Slovo* proved to be both "factional" and "pursuing splitting [for his part, Semkovsky has added "anarcho-syndicalist"] tendencies", and also "making excuses to Lenin's *Sotsial-Demokrat*".

The public have seen three *Nashe Slovo* elements, which for seven or eight months have been unsuccessfully trying to unite. These are: (1) two Left-wing members of the editorial staff (*Nashe Slovo* No. 107) who sincerely sympathise with internationalism and gravitate towards *Sotsial-Demokrat* (see the resolution of greeting addressed to them by the Paris group of our Party, in *Nashe Slovo* No. 122), (2) Martov and the Organising Committee members ("a good half"); (3) Trotsky, who as always entirely disagrees with the social-chauvinists in principle, but agrees with them *in everything in practice* (incidentally, thanks to the "felicitous mediation"—is that what they call it in diplomatic language?—of the Chkheidze group).

Sincere friends of unity must be asking themselves: why did *Nashe Slovo* collapse and split? It is customary to explain splits by the misanthropic "splitting policy" of the horrible "Leninists" (the articles by Semkovsky in *Izvestia* No. 2, by Axelrod in *Nashe Slovo*, etc., etc.). These horrible people, however, took no part at all in *Nashe Slovo* and for this simple reason they *could not* have split away or left it.

What, then, is the reason? Was it accidental? Or was it because unity between Social-Democratic workers and the conductors of bourgeois influence (in reality agents of liberal and chauvinist bourgeoisie) who are centred in *Nashe Dyelo* is impossible and damaging?

Let the friends of "unity" ponder over this.

Of the European Social-Democrats, Kautsky and Haase jointly with Bernstein himself, have come out—in somewhat different surroundings and form—in favour of "unity". Sensing that the masses are swinging towards the Left, these "authorities" are proposing peace to the Left Social-Democrats, on the tacit condition of peace with the Südekums. To renounce, in word, the "policy of August 4"; to paper over the rift between the national liberal-labour policies and the Social-Democratic working-class policies, with the aid of some non-committal (in certain respects not unfavourable even to Hindenburg and Joffre) "peace" phrases

(the peace slogan being highly suited to the purpose), and by platonically denouncing annexations, etc.—such, approximately, is Kautsky's and Bernstein's programme, which the French social-chauvinists would not be loath to join, as may be seen from the tone of some statements in *l'Humanité*. The British in the Independent Labour Party will, of course, heartily support such an amnesty for social-chauvinism if only it is concealed by a number of compliments for the Left. The Organising Committee members and Trotsky seem to be predestined to hang on to the coat-tails of Kautsky and Bernstein, at the present juncture.

We consider this leftward turn by the leader of the opportunists and the leader of the hypocritical chauvinists of the "radical" camp a farce designed to *save what is rotten* in Social-Democracy, by means of a bow towards the Left, with the aim of bolstering the national liberal-labour policies at the price of petty verbal concessions to the "Lefts".

The objective situation in Europe is such that, among the masses, disappointment, dissatisfaction, protest, indignation, and revolutionary temper are mounting, which, at a certain stage of that temper's development, may turn into action with incredible speed. Either aid the growth and development of revolutionary action against one's *own* bourgeoisie and one's own government, or else hamper, soothe and extinguish the revolutionary temper—this is the only practical way in which the issue now stands. To achieve the latter of these alternatives, the liberal bourgeoisie and the opportunists will agree (and, from the standpoint of *their* interests, *must* agree) to any verbal concessions to the Left, to any number of promises concerning disarmament, peace, the repudiation of annexations, reforms of every kind, anything under the sun, if only a rupture between the masses and their opportunist leaders, and a resumption of more and more serious revolutionary action can be averted.

Do not trust any high-sounding programmes, we say to the masses; rely on your own mass revolutionary action against your governments and your bourgeoisie and try to build up such action; there is no escape from barbarism, no possibility of progress in Europe, without a civil war for socialism.

P.S. This article had already been set when we received a collection of articles under the title of *The War*, by Mr. Plekhanov and the "former revolutionary" G. Alexinsky and Co. This is an assortment of sophisms and lies by social-chauvinists, who would make the tsarism's reactionary war of plunder appear "just", "defensive", etc.! We would bring this disgraceful sheaf of servility to tsarism to the attention of all those who honestly wish to understand why the Second International has collapsed. It is, incidentally noteworthy that these outspoken social-chauvinists are *entirely* satisfied both with Chkheidze and his entire group. The Organising Committee, Trotsky, Plekhanov, and Alexinsky and Co. are naturally also satisfied with the Chkheidze group because for years the latter have proved their skill in shielding the opportunists and serving them.

Messrs. Plekhanov and Alexinsky are shamelessly lying about the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma, now exiled to Siberia. The time is probably at hand when it will be possible to cite documents to refute these lies.

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THE "PEACE" SLOGAN APPRAISED

In its issue of June 27, 1915, the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, central organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, cites a very instructive declaration contained in the German governmental *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

The declaration deals with an article by one of the best known (and vilest) opportunists of the "Social-Democratic" Party of Germany named Quarck, who said *inter alia*:

"We German Social-Democrats and our Austrian comrades have repeatedly declared ourselves ready to establish contacts (with the British and French Social-Democrats) for the purpose of beginning peace talks. *The German Imperial Government know of this, and have not placed the slightest obstacle in our way.*"

Nationalliberale Korrespondenz, a German national-liberal paper, has said that the concluding words permit of a double interpretation. The first is that the government have put no obstacles in the way of "international political action" by the Social-Democrats, insofar as it does not transgress the limits of legality and "is not dangerous to the State". This, the paper says, is perfectly intelligible from the angle of "political freedom".

The second interpretation is that the German Government "at least tacitly approve of the Social-Democratic internationalist peace propaganda, and even consider it a suitable means of laying down the initial basis for exploring the possibility of peace".

The national-liberal paper naturally considers this latter interpretation out of the question. In this it has the official support of the government newspaper, which goes on to say that "the government have nothing in common with

internationalist peace propaganda and have authorised neither Social-Democratic nor any other intermediaries to conduct that propaganda".

An edifying farce, is it not? Will anybody believe that the German Government, who have forbidden *Vorwärts* to write about the class struggle, have introduced harsh military laws against popular meetings and veritable "military slavery" for the proletariat—that this government have, *out of sheer liberalism*, "put no obstacles" in the way of Messrs. Quarck and Südekum, or that they are not in constant communication with the latter gentlemen?

Is it not a thousand times more likely that Quarck *inadvertently* told the truth (namely, that the peace propaganda was started by the German Social-Democrats when they had reached a direct or indirect understanding with their government), and that he was "officially refuted" only for the purpose of concealing the truth.

This is a lesson to those phrase-lovers who, like Trotsky (see No. 105 of *Nashe Slovo*), defend—in opposition to us—the peace slogan, alleging among other things that "all Left-wingers" have united for the purpose of "action" under this very slogan! The Junker government have now demonstrated the correctness of our Berne resolution (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40), which says that the propaganda of peace "unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action' can only "sow illusions" and "turn the proletariat into a plaything in the hands of the *secret diplomacy* of the belligerent countries".*

This has been literally proved!

In a few years diplomatic history will prove that *there was* an understanding, direct or indirect, between the opportunists and the governments on peace palaver and this, *not in Germany alone*! Diplomacy may conceal such things, but murder will out!

When the Lefts began to unite under the peace slogan, this deserved encouragement, *provided* it was the *first step* in protest against the chauvinists, in the same fashion as the Caponade was the Russian worker's first timid protest against the tsar. But since the Lefts are even

* See p. 163 of this volume.—*Ed.*

now confining themselves to this *slogan* (slogans are the business of *intelligent* political leaders), they are shoddy Lefts, there is consequently *not a grain of* "*action*" in their resolutions, and they are consequently a plaything in the hands of the Südekums, Quarcks, Sembats, Hyndmans, Joffres, and Hindenburgs.

Anyone who fails to understand this even today, when the peace slogan ("unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action") has been prostituted by the Vienna Conference[138] of Bernstein, Kautsky and Co. with the Scheidemanns (the German *Vorstand*, their Executive), is simply an unwitting participant in the social-chauvinist humbugging of the people.

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THE QUESTION OF PEACE

The question of peace as an immediate programme of action for the socialists, and in this connection the question of peace terms, presents a universal interest. One can only be grateful to *Berner Tagwacht* for its efforts to pose the question, not from the usual petty-bourgeois national angle, but from one that is genuinely proletarian and internationalist. The editorial note in No. 73 ("*Friedenssehnsucht*"), that the German Social-Democrats who wish for peace must break (*sich lossagen*) with the policies of the Junker government, was excellent. Also excellent was Comrade A. P.'s[139] attack (Nos. 73 and 75) on the "pompous airs of impotent phrase-mongers" (*Wichtigtuerei machtloser Schönredner*), who are vainly attempting to solve the peace question from the petty-bourgeois point of view.

Let us see how this question should be posed by socialists.

The peace slogan can be advanced either in connection with definite peace terms, or without any conditions at all, as a struggle, not for a definite kind of peace, but for peace in general (*Frieden ohne weiters*). In the latter case, we obviously have a slogan that is not only non-socialist but entirely devoid of meaning and content. Most people are definitely in favour of peace in general, including even Kitchener, Joffre, Hindenburg, and Nicholas the Bloodstained, for *each* of them wants an end to the war. The trouble is that every one of them advances peace terms that are imperialist (i.e., predatory and oppressive, towards other peoples), and to the advantage of his "own" nation. Slogans must be brought forward so as to enable the masses, through propaganda and agitation, to see the unbridgeable distinction between socialism and capitalism (imperialism), and *not*

for the purpose of *reconciling* two hostile classes and two hostile political lines, with the aid of a formula that "unites" the most different things.

To continue: can the socialists of different countries be united on definite *terms* of peace? If so, such terms must undoubtedly include the recognition of the right to self-determination for all nations, and also renunciation of all "annexations", i.e., infringements of that right. If, however, that right is recognised only for *some* nations, then you are defending the *privileges* of certain nations, i.e., you are a nationalist and imperialist, not a socialist. If, however, that right is recognised for *all* nations, then you cannot single out Belgium alone, for instance; you must take *all* the oppressed peoples, both in Europe (the Irish in Britain, the Italians in Nice, the Danes in Germany, fifty-seven per cent of Russia's population, etc.) *and outside of Europe*, i.e., all colonies. Comrade A. P. has done well to remind us of them. Britain, France, and Germany have a total population of some one hundred and fifty million, whereas the populations they oppress in the colonies number over four hundred million! The essence of the imperialist war, i.e., a war waged for the interests of the capitalists, consists, not only in the war being waged with the aim of oppressing new nations, of carving up the colonies, but also in its being waged primarily by the advanced nations, which *oppress* a number of other peoples comprising the *majority* of the earth's population.

The German Social-Democrats, who justify the seizure of Belgium or reconcile themselves to it, are actually imperialists and nationalists, not Social-Democrats, since they defend the "right" of the German bourgeoisie (partly also of the German workers) to oppress the Belgians, the Alsatians, the Danes, the Poles, the Negroes in Africa, etc. They are not socialists, but *menials* to the German bourgeoisie, whom they are aiding to rob other nations. The Belgian socialists who demand the liberation and indemnification of Belgium *alone* are also actually defending a demand of the Belgian bourgeoisie, who would go on plundering the 15,000,000 Congolese population and obtaining concessions and privileges in other countries. The Belgian bourgeoisie's foreign investments amount to something like three thousand

million francs. Safeguarding the profits from these investments by using every kind of fraud and machinations is the *real* "national interest" of "gallant Belgium". The same applies in a still greater degree to Russia, Britain, France and Japan.

It follows that if the demand for the freedom of nations is not to be a false phrase covering up the imperialism and the nationalism of *certain individual* countries, it must be extended to *all* peoples and to *all* colonies. Such a demand however, is obviously meaningless *unless* it is accompanied by a series of revolutions in *all* the advanced countries. Moreover, it cannot be accomplished without a successful *socialist* revolution.

Should this be taken to mean that socialists can remain indifferent to the peace demand that is coming from ever greater masses of the people? By no means. The slogans of the workers' class-conscious vanguard are one thing, while the spontaneous demands of the masses are something quite different. The yearning for peace is one of the most important *symptoms* revealing the beginnings of *disappointment* in the bourgeois lie about a war of "liberation", the "defence of the fatherland", and similar falsehoods that the class of capitalists beguiles the mob with. This symptom should attract the closest attention from socialists. All efforts must be bent towards *utilising* the masses' desire for peace. But *how* is it to be utilised? To recognise the peace *slogan* and repeat it would mean encouraging "pompous airs of impotent [and frequently what is worse: *hypocritical*] phrase-mongers"; it would mean *deceiving* the people with illusion that the existing governments, the present-day master classes, are *capable*—without being "taught" a lesson (or rather without being eliminated) by a series of revolutions—of granting a peace in any way satisfactory to democracy and the working class. Nothing is more harmful than such deception. Nothing throws more dust in the eyes of the workers, nothing imbues them with a more deceptive idea about the *absence of deep* contradiction between capitalism and socialism, nothing *embellishes* capitalist slavery more than this deception does. No, we must make use of the desire for peace so as to explain to the masses that the benefits they expect from peace cannot be obtained without a series of revolutions.

An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence—such is our ideal, but only bourgeois sophists can seduce the masses with this ideal, if the latter is divorced from a direct and immediate call for revolutionary action. The ground for such propaganda is prepared; to practice that propaganda, one need only break with the opportunists, those allies of the bourgeoisie, who are hampering revolutionary work both directly (even to the extent of passing information to the authorities) and indirectly.

The slogan of self-determination of nations should also be advanced *in connection* with the imperialist era of capitalism. We do not stand for the *status quo*, or for the philistine Utopia of *standing aside* in great wars. We stand for a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, i.e., capitalism. Imperialism consists in a striving of nations that oppress a number of other nations to extend and increase that oppression and to repartition the colonies. That is why the question of self-determination of nations today *hinges* on the conduct of socialists of the *oppressor* nations. A socialist of any of the *oppressor* nations (Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the United States of America, etc.) who does not recognise and does not struggle for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination (i.e., the right to secession) is in reality a chauvinist, not a socialist.

Only this point of view can lead to a sincere and consistent struggle against imperialism, to a proletarian, not a philistine approach (today) to the national question. Only this point of view can lead to a consistent application of the principle of combating any form of the oppression of nations; it removes mistrust among the proletarians of the oppressor and oppressed nations, makes for a united international struggle for the socialist revolution (i.e., for the only accomplishable regime of complete national equality), as distinct from the philistine Utopia of freedom for all small states in general, under capitalism.

This is the point of view adopted by our Party, i.e., by those Social-Democrats of Russia who have rallied around the Central Committee. This was the point of view adopted by Marx when he taught the proletariat that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations". It was from this point of view that Marx demanded the separation of Ireland from

Britain, this in the interests of the freedom movement, not only of the Irish, but especially of the *British* workers.

If the socialists of Britain do not recognise and uphold Ireland's right to secession, if the French do not do the same for Italian Nice, the Germans for Alsace-Lorraine, Danish Schleswig, and Poland, the Russians for Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, etc., and the Poles for the Ukraine—if all the socialists of the "Great" Powers, i.e., the great robber powers, do not uphold that right in respect of the colonies, it is solely because they are in fact imperialists, not socialists. It is ridiculous to cherish illusions that people who do *not* fight for "the right to self-determination" of the oppressed nations, while they themselves belong to the oppressor nations, are capable of practising socialist policies.

Instead of leaving it to the hypocritical phrase-mongers to deceive the people by phrases and promises concerning the possibility of a democratic peace, socialists must explain to the masses the impossibility of anything resembling a democratic peace, unless there are a series of revolutions and unless a revolutionary struggle is waged in every country against the *respective* government. Instead of allowing the bourgeois politicians to deceive the peoples with talk about the freedom of nations, socialists must explain to the masses in the *oppressor* nations that they cannot hope for their liberation, as long as they help oppress other nations, and do not recognise and uphold the right of those nations to self-determination, i.e., the freedom to secede. That is the socialist, as distinct from the imperialist, policy to be applied to all countries, on the question of peace and the national question. True, this line is in most cases incompatible with the laws punishing high treason—but so is the Basle resolution, which has been so shamefully betrayed by almost all the socialists of the oppressor nations.

The choice is between socialism and submission to the laws of Joffre and Hindenburg, between revolutionary struggle and servility to imperialism. There is no middle course. The greatest harm is caused to the proletariat by the hypocritical (or obtuse) authors of the "middle-course" policy.

Written in July-August 1915 Signed: *Lenin*

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FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

SOCIALISM AND WAR

THE ATTITUDE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TOWARD THE WAR[140]

Written in July-August 1915

Published in pamphlet form
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PREFACE
TO THE FIRST (FOREIGN) EDITION

The war has been in progress for already a year. At the very outset of the war, our Party's attitude towards it was defined in the Central Committee's manifesto drawn up in September 1914 and (after it had been sent to the members of the C.C. and to our Party's responsible representatives in Russia, and had received their consent) published on November 1, 1914, in No. 33 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*,* our Party's Central Organ. Later, in No. 40 (March 29, 1915), the resolutions of the Berne Conference** were published, in which our principles and tactics were set forth more precisely.

At present there is an obvious growth of revolutionary temper among the masses. In other countries, symptoms of the same phenomenon are to be seen on all sides, despite the suppression of the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat by most of the official Social-Democratic parties, which have taken sides with their governments and their bourgeoisie. This state of affairs makes particularly urgent the publication of a pamphlet that sums up Social-Democratic tactics in relation to the war. In reprinting in full the above-mentioned Party documents, we have provided them with brief comment, endeavouring to take due stock of all the main arguments in favour of bourgeois and of proletarian tactics that have been expressed in the appropriate literature and at Party meetings.

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* See pp. 25-34 of this volume.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 158-64 of this volume.—*Ed.*

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This pamphlet was written in the summer of 1915, just before the Zimmerwald Conference.[141] It also appeared in German and French, and was reprinted in full in Norwegian in the organ of the Norwegian Social-Democratic Youth League. The German edition of the pamphlet was secretly brought to Germany—Berlin, Leipzig, Bremen and other cities, where it was secretly distributed by supporters of the Zimmerwald Left and by the Karl Liebknecht group. The French edition was secretly printed in Paris and distributed there by the French Zimmerwaldists. The Russian-language edition reached Russia in a very limited number of copies, and in Moscow was copied out in handwriting by workers.

We are now reprinting this pamphlet in full, as a document. The reader should all the time remember that the pamphlet was written in August 1915. This must be kept in view particularly in connection with those passages which refer to Russia: Russia at that time was still tsarist, Romanov Russia.

Published in the 1918 edition of the pamphlet

Published according to the pamphlet text

CHAPTER I
THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM AND THE WAR OF 1914-1915

THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIALISTS TOWARDS WARS

Socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal. Our attitude towards war, however, is fundamentally different from that of the bourgeois pacifists (supporters and advocates of peace) and of the anarchists. We differ from the former in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars and the class struggle within a country; we understand that wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created; we also differ in that we regard civil wars, i.e., wars waged by an oppressed class against the oppressor class, by slaves against slaveholders, by serfs against landowners, and by wage-workers against the bourgeoisie, as fully legitimate, progressive and necessary. We Marxists differ from both pacifists and anarchists in that we deem it necessary to study each war historically (from the standpoint of Marx's dialectical materialism) and separately. There have been in the past numerous wars which, despite all the horrors, atrocities, distress and suffering that inevitably accompany all wars were progressive, i.e., benefited the development of mankind by helping to destroy most harmful and reactionary institutions (e.g., an autocracy or serfdom) and the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (the Turkish and the Russian). That is why the features historically specific to the present war must come up for examination.

THE HISTORICAL TYPES OF WARS IN MODERN TIMES

The Great French Revolution ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind. From that time down to the Paris Commune, i.e., between 1789 and 1871, one type of war was of a bourgeois-progressive character, waged for national

liberation. In other words, the overthrow of absolutism and feudalism, the undermining of these institutions, and the overthrow of alien oppression, formed the chief content and historical significance of *such* wars. These were therefore progressive wars; during such wars, all honest and revolutionary democrats, as well as all socialists, always wished success to that country (i.e., that bourgeoisie) which had helped to overthrow or undermine the most baneful foundations of feudalism, absolutism and the oppression of other nations. For example, the revolutionary wars waged by France contained an element of plunder and the conquest of foreign territory by the French, but this does not in the least alter the fundamental historical significance of those wars, which destroyed and shattered feudalism and absolutism in the whole of the old, serf-owning Europe. In the Franco-Prussian war, Germany plundered France, but this does not alter the fundamental historical significance of that war, which liberated tens of millions of German people from feudal disunity and from the oppression of two despots, the Russian tsar and Napoleon III.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WARS OF AGGRESSION AND OF DEFENCE

The period of 1789-1871 left behind it deep marks and revolutionary memories. There could be no development of the proletarian struggle for socialism prior to the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism and alien oppression. When, in speaking of the wars of *such* periods, socialists stressed the legitimacy of "defensive" wars, they always had these aims in mind, namely revolution against medievalism and serfdom. By a "defensive" war socialists have always understood a "*just*" war in this particular sense (Wilhelm Liebknecht once expressed himself precisely in this way). It is only in this sense that socialists have always regarded wars "for the defence of the fatherland", or "defensive" wars, as legitimate, progressive and just. For example, if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be "just", and "defensive" wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent

and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory "Great" Powers.

But imagine a slave-holder who owns 100 slaves warring against another who owns 200 slaves, for a more "just" redistribution of slaves. The use of the term of a "defensive" war, or a war "for the defence of the fatherland", would clearly be historically false in such a case and would in practice be sheer deception of the common people, philistines, and the ignorant, by the astute slave-holders. It is in this way that the peoples are being deceived with "national" ideology and the term of "defence of the fatherland", by the present-day imperialist bourgeoisie, in the war now being waged between slave-holders with the purpose of consolidating slavery.

THE WAR OF TODAY IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR

It is almost universally admitted that this war is an imperialist war. In most cases, however, this term is distorted, or applied to one side, or else a loophole is left for the assertion that this war may, after all, be bourgeois-progressive, and of significance to the national-liberation movement. Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism now finds that the old national states, without whose formation it could not have overthrown feudalism, are too cramped for it. Capitalism has developed concentration to such a degree that entire branches of industry are controlled by syndicates, trusts and associations of capitalist multi-millionaires and almost the entire globe has been divided up among the "lords of capital" either in the form of colonies, or by entangling other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by a striving towards monopolies, the seizure of territory for the investment of capital and as sources of raw materials, and so on. From the liberator of nations, which it was in the struggle against feudalism, capitalism in its imperialist stage has turned into the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and

even decades of armed struggle between the "Great" Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind.

A WAR BETWEEN THE BIGGEST SLAVE-HOLDERS FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF SLAVERY

To make the significance of imperialism clear, we will quote precise figures showing the partition of the world among the so-called "Great" Powers (i.e., those successful in great plunder).

Partition of the World Among the "Great" Slave-holding Powers

"Great" Powers	Colonies				Metropolis		Total	
	1876		1914		1914			
	Square kilometres	Population	Square kilometres	Population	Square kilometres	Population	Square kilometres	Population
	millions		millions		millions		millions	
Britain	22.5	251.9	33.5	393.5	0.3	46.5	33.8	440.0
Russia	17.0	15.9	17.4	33.2	5.4	136.2	22.8	169.4
France	0.9	6.0	10.6	55.5	0.5	39.6	11.1	95.1
Germany	—	—	2.9	12.3	0.5	64.9	3.4	77.2
Japan	—	—	0.3	19.2	0.4	53.0	0.7	72.2
United States of America	—	—	0.3	9.7	9.4	97.0	9.7	106.7
Total for the six "Great" Powers	40.4	273.8	65.0	523.4	16.5	437.2	81.5	960.6
Colonies belonging to *other* than Great Powers (Belgium, Holland and other states)			9.9	45.3			9.9	45.3
Three "semi-colonial" countries (Turkey, China and Persia)							14.5	361.2
						Total	105.9	1,367.1
Other states and countries							28.0	289.9
Entire globe (exclusive of Arctic and Antarctic regions)						*Grand Total*	133.9	1,657.0

Hence it will be seen that, since 1876, most of the nations which were foremost fighters for freedom in 1789-1871, have, on the basis of a highly developed and "over-mature" capitalism, become oppressors and enslavers of most of the population and the nations of the globe. From 1876 to 1914, six "Great" Powers grabbed 25 million square kilometres, i.e., an area two and a half times that of Europe! Six Powers have enslaved *523 million* people in the colonies. For every four inhabitants in the "Great" Powers there are five in "their" colonies. It is common knowledge that colonies are conquered with fire and sword, that the population of the colonies are brutally treated, and that they are exploited in a thousand ways (by exporting capital, through concessions, etc., cheating in the sale of goods, subjugation by the authorities of the "ruling" nation, and so on and so forth). The Anglo-French bourgeoisie are deceiving the people when they say that they are waging a war for the freedom of nations and of Belgium; in fact they are waging a war for the purpose of retaining the colonies they have grabbed and robbed. The German imperialists would free Belgium, etc., at once if the British and French would agree to "fairly" share their colonies with them. A feature of the situation is that in this war the fate of the colonies is being decided by a war on the Continent. From the standpoint of bourgeois justice and national freedom (or the right of nations to existence), Germany might be considered absolutely in the right as against Britain and France, for she has been "done out" of colonies, her enemies are oppressing an immeasurably far larger number of nations than she is, and the Slavs that are being oppressed by her ally, Austria, undoubtedly enjoy far more freedom than those of tsarist Russia, that veritable "prison of nations". Germany, however, is fighting, not for the liberation of nations, but for their oppression. It is not the business of socialists to help the younger and stronger robber (Germany) to plunder the older and overgorged robbers. Socialists must take advantage of the struggle between the robbers to overthrow all of them. To be able to do this, socialists must first of all tell the people the truth, namely, that this war is, in three respects, a war between slave-holders with the aim of consolidating slavery. This is a war, firstly, to increase the enslavement of the colo-

nies by means of a "more equitable" distribution and subsequent more concerted exploitation of them; secondly, to increase the oppression of other nations within the "Great" Powers, since *both* Austria *and* Russia (Russia in greater-degree and with results far worse than Austria) maintain their rule only by such oppression, intensifying it by means of war; and thirdly, to increase and prolong wage slavery, since the proletariat is split up and suppressed, while the capitalists are the gainers, making fortunes out of the war, fanning national prejudices and intensifying reaction, which has raised its head in all countries, even in the freest and most republican.

WAR IS THE CONTINUATION OF POLITICS BY OTHER (I.E.: VIOLENT) "MEANS"[142]

This famous dictum was uttered by Clausewitz, one of the profoundest writers on the problems of war. Marxists have always rightly regarded this thesis as the theoretical basis of views on the significance of any war. It was from this viewpoint that Marx and Engels always regarded the various wars.

Apply this view to the present war. You will see that far decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of Britain and France, Germany and Italy, Austria and Russia have pursued a policy of plundering colonies, oppressing other nations, and suppressing the working-class movement. It is this, and only this, policy that is being continued in the present war. In particular, the policy of both Austria and Russia, in peacetime as well as in wartime, is a policy of enslaving nations, not of liberating them. In China, Persia, India and other dependent countries, on the contrary, we have seen during the past decades a policy of rousing tens and hundreds of millions of people to a national life, of their liberation from the reactionary "Great" Powers' oppression. A war waged on such a historical basis can even today be a bourgeois-progressive war of national liberation.

If the present war is regarded as a continuation of the politics of the "Great" Powers and of the principal classes within them, a glance will immediately reveal the glaring anti-historicity, falseness and hypocrisy of the view that the "defence-of-the-fatherland" idea can be justified in the present war.

THE CASE OF BELGIUM

The favourite plea of the social-chauvinists of the Triple (now Quadruple) Entente[143] (in Russia, Plekhanov and Co.) is the case of Belgium. This instance, however, speaks against them. The German imperialists have brazenly violated the neutrality of Belgium, as belligerent states have done always and everywhere, trampling upon *all* treaties and obligations if necessary. Let us suppose that all states interested in the observance of international treaties should declare war on Germany with the demand that Belgium be liberated and indemnified. In that case, the sympathies of socialists would, of course, be with Germany's enemies. But the whole point is that the Triple (and Quadruple) Entente is waging war, *not* over Belgium; this is common knowledge and only hypocrites will disguise the fact. Britain is grabbing at Germany's colonies and Turkey, Russia is grabbing at Galicia and Turkey, France wants Alsace-Lorraine and even the left bank of the Rhine; a treaty has been concluded with Italy for the division of the spoils (Albania and Asia Minor); bargaining is going on with Bulgaria and Rumania, also for the division of the spoils. In the present war waged by the governments of today, it is *impossible* to help Belgium *otherwise* than by helping to throttle Austria or Turkey, etc.! Where does "defence of the fatherland" come in here? Herein lies the specific feature of imperialist war, a war between reactionary-bourgeois and historically outmoded governments, waged for the purpose of oppressing other nations. Whoever justifies participation in the present war is perpetuating the imperialist oppression of nations. Whoever advocates taking advantage of the present embarrassments

of the governments so as to fight for the social revolution is championing the real freedom of really all nations, which is possible only under socialism.

WHAT RUSSIA IS FIGHTING FOR

In Russia, capitalist imperialism of the latest type has fully revealed itself in the policy of tsarism towards Persia, Manchuria and Mongolia, but, in general, military and feudal imperialism is predominant in Russia. In no country in the world are the majority of the population oppressed so much as in Russia; Great Russians constitute only 43 per cent of the population, i.e., less than half; the non-Russians are denied all rights. Of the 170 million inhabitants of Russia, *about 100 million* are oppressed and denied their rights. Tsarism is waging a war to seize Galicia and finally crush the liberties of the Ukrainians, and to obtain possession of Armenia, Constantinople, etc. Tsarism regards the war as a means of diverting attention from the mounting discontent within the country and of suppressing the growing revolutionary movement. To every two Great Russians in Russia today there are two or three non-Russians without even elementary rights: tsarism is striving, by means of the war, to increase the number of nations oppressed by Russia, to perpetuate this oppression, and thereby undermine the struggle for freedom which the Great Russians themselves are waging. The possibility of oppressing and robbing other nations perpetuates economic stagnation, because the source of income is frequently, not the development of productive forces, but the semi-feudal exploitation of non-Russians. Thus on the part of Russia, the war is marked by its profoundly reactionary character, its hostility to national liberation.

WHAT SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IS

Social-chauvinism is advocacy of the idea of "defence of the fatherland" in the present war. This idea logically leads to the abandonment of the class struggle during the

war, to voting for war credits, etc. In fact, the social-chauvinists are pursuing an anti-proletarian bourgeois policy, for they are actually championing, not "defence of the fatherland" in the sense of combating foreign oppression, but the "right" of one or other of the "Great" Powers to plunder colonies and to oppress other nations. The social-chauvinists reiterate the bourgeois deception of the people that the war is being waged to protect the freedom and existence of nations, thereby taking sides with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Among the social-chauvinists are those who justify and varnish the governments and bourgeoisie of *one* of the belligerent groups of powers, as well as those who, like Kautsky, argue that the socialists of *all* the belligerent powers are equally entitled to "defend the fatherland". Social-chauvinism, which is, in effect, defence of the privileges, the advantages, the right to pillage and plunder, of one's "own" (or any) imperialist bourgeoisie, is the utter betrayal of all socialist convictions and of the decision of the Basle International Socialist Congress.

THE BASLE MANIFESTO

The Manifesto on war unanimously adopted in Basle in 1912 has in view the very kind of war between Britain and Germany and their present allies, which broke out in 1914. The Manifesto openly declares that no interests of the people can serve to justify such a war waged for the sake of the profits of the capitalists and the ambitions of dynasties", on the basis of the imperialist, predatory policy of the Great Powers. The Manifesto openly declares that war is dangerous to "governments" (all of them without exception), notes their fear of "a proletarian revolution", and very definitely points to the example set by the Commune of 1871, and by October-December 1905, i.e., *to the examples of revolution and civil war*. Thus, the Basle Manifesto lays down, precisely for the present war, the tactics of the workers' revolutionary struggle on an international scale against their governments, the tactics of proletarian revolution. The Basle Manifesto repeats the words in the Stuttgart resolution that, in the event of war, socialists must take advantage of the "economic and political crisis" it will cause so as to "hasten

the downfall of capitalism", i.e., take advantage of the governments' wartime difficulties and the indignation of the masses, to advance the socialist revolution.

The social-chauvinists' policy, their justification of the war from the bourgeois-liberation standpoint, their sanctioning of "defence of the fatherland", their voting for credits, membership in governments, and so on and so forth, are downright treachery to socialism, which can be explained only, as we will soon show, by the victory of opportunism and of the national liberal-labour policy in the majority of European parties.

FALSE REFERENCES TO MARX AND ENGELS

The Russian social-chauvinists (headed by Plekhanov) make references to Marx's tactics in the war of 1870; the German (of the type of Lensch, David and Co.)—to Engels's statement in 1891 that, in the event of war against Russia and France combined, it would be the duty of the German socialists to defend their fatherland; finally, the social-chauvinists of the Kautsky type, who want to reconcile and legitimatise international chauvinism, refer to the fact that Marx and Engels, while condemning war, nevertheless, from 1854-55 to 1870-71 and 1876-77, always took the side of one belligerent state or another, once war had broken out.

All these references are outrageous distortions of the views of Marx and Engels, in the interest of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, in just the same way as the writings of the anarchists Guillaume and Co. distort the views of Marx and Engels so as to justify anarchism. The war of 1870-71 was historically progressive on the part of Germany, until Napoleon III was defeated: the latter, together with the tsar, had oppressed Germany for years, keeping her in a state of feudal disunity. But as soon as the war developed into the plundering of France (the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine), Marx and Engels emphatically condemned the Germans. Even at the beginning of the war, Marx and Engels approved of the refusal of Bebel and Liebknecht to vote for war credits, and advised Social-Democrats not to merge with the bourgeoisie, but to uphold the independent class interests of the proletariat. To apply to the present

imperialist war the appraisal of this bourgeois-progressive war of national liberation is a mockery of the truth. The same applies with still greater force to the war of 1854-55, and to all the wars of the nineteenth century, when there existed *no* modern imperialism, *no* mature objective conditions for socialism, and *no* mass socialist parties *in any* of the belligerent countries, i.e., none of the conditions from which the Basle Manifesto deduced the tactics of a "proletarian revolution" *in connection* with a war between Great Powers.

Anyone who today refers to Marx's attitude towards the wars of the epoch of the *progressive* bourgeoisie, and forgets Marx's statement that "the workingmen have no country"—a statement that applies *precisely* to the period of the reactionary and outmoded bourgeoisie, to the epoch of the socialist revolution, is shamelessly distorting Marx, and is substituting the bourgeois point of view for the socialist.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Socialists of all the world solemnly declared in Basle, in 1912, that they regarded the impending war in Europe as the "criminal" and most reactionary deed of *all* the governments, which must hasten the downfall of capitalism by inevitably engendering a revolution against it. The war came, the crisis was there. Instead of revolutionary tactics, most of the Social-Democratic parties launched reactionary tactics, and went over to the side of their respective governments and bourgeoisie. This betrayal of socialism signifies the collapse of the Second (1889-1914) International, and we must realise what caused this collapse, what brought social-chauvinism into being and gave it strength.

SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IS THE ACME OF OPPORTUNISM

Throughout the existence of the Second International, a struggle was raging within all the Social-Democratic parties, between their revolutionary and the opportunist wings. In a number of countries a split took place along this line (Britain, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria). Not one Marxist has ever doubted that opportunism expresses bourgeois policies

within the working-class movement, expresses the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the alliance of a tiny section of bourgeoisified workers with their "*own*" bourgeoisie, against the interests of the proletarian masses, the oppressed masses.

The objective conditions at the close of the nineteenth century greatly intensified opportunism, converted the utilisation of bourgeois legality into subservience to the latter, created a thin crust of a working-class officialdom and aristocracy and attracted numerous petty-bourgeois "fellow travellers" to the Social-Democratic parties.

The war has speeded up this development and transformed opportunism into social-chauvinism, transformed the secret alliance between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie into an open one. Simultaneously, the military authorities have everywhere instituted martial law and have muzzled the mass of the workers, whose old leaders have nearly all gone over to the bourgeoisie.

Opportunism and social-chauvinism stand on a common economic basis—the interests of a thin crust of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie, who are defending their privileged position, their "right" to some modicum of the profits that their "own" national bourgeoisie obtain from robbing other nations, from the advantages of their Great-Power status, etc.

Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's "own" government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution. If we take Europe as a whole and if we pay attention, not to individuals (even the most authoritative), we will find that it is the opportunist *trend* that has become the bulwark of social-chauvinism, whereas from the camp of the revolutionaries, more of less consistent protests against it are heard from almost all sides. And if we take, for example, the grouping of trends at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress in 1907, we shall find that international Marxism was opposed to imperialism, while international opportunism was already in favour of it at the time.

UNITY WITH THE OPPORTUNISTS MEANS AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THEIR "OWN" NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE, AND SPLITTING THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS

In the past, before the war, opportunism was often looked upon as a legitimate, though "deviationist" and "extremist", component of the Social-Democratic Party. The war has shown the impossibility of this in the future. Opportunism has "matured", and is now playing to the full its role as emissary of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement. Unity with the opportunists has become sheer hypocrisy, exemplified by the German Social-Democratic Party. On every important occasion (e.g., the August 4 vote), the opportunists present an ultimatum, to which they give effect through their numerous links with the bourgeoisie, their majority on the executives of the trade unions, etc. Today *unity* with the opportunists *actually* means subordinating the working class to their "own" national bourgeoisie, and an alliance with the latter for the purpose of oppressing other nations and of fighting for dominant-nation privileges; it means *splitting* the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

No matter how hard, in individual instances, the struggle may be against the opportunists, who predominate in many organisations, whatever the specific nature of the purging of the workers' parties of opportunists in individual countries, this process is inevitable and fruitful. Reformist socialism is dying; regenerated socialism "will be revolutionary, uncompromising and insurrectionary", to use the apt expression of the French Socialist Paul Golay.

"KAUTSKYISM"

Kautsky, the leading authority in the Second International, is a most typical and striking example of how a verbal recognition of Marxism has led in practice to its conversion into "Struvism" or into "Brentanoism".[144] Another example is Plekhanov. By means of patent sophistry, Marxism is stripped of its revolutionary living spirit; *everything* is recognised in Marxism *except* the revolutionary

methods of struggle, the propaganda and preparation of those methods, and the education of the masses in this direction. Kautsky "reconciles" in an unprincipled way the fundamental idea of social-chauvinism, recognition of defence of the fatherland in the present war, with a diplomatic sham concession to the Lefts—his abstention from voting for war credits, his verbal claim to be in the opposition, etc. Kautsky, who in 1909 wrote a book on the approaching epoch of revolutions and on the connection between war and revolution, Kautsky, who in 1912 signed the Basle Manifesto on taking revolutionary advantage of the impending war, is outdoing himself in justifying and embellishing social-chauvinism and, like Plekhanov, joins the bourgeoisie in ridiculing any thought of revolution and all steps towards the immediate revolutionary struggle.

The working class cannot play its world-revolutionary role unless it wages a ruthless struggle against this backsliding, spinelessness, subservience to opportunism, and unparalleled vulgarisation of the theories of Marxism. Kautskyism is not fortuitous; it is the social product of the contradictions within the Second International, a blend of loyalty to Marxism in word, and subordination to opportunism in deed.

This fundamental falseness of "Kautskyism" manifests itself in different ways in different countries. In Holland, Roland-Holst, while rejecting the idea of defending the fatherland, defends unity with the opportunists' party. In Russia, Trotsky, while rejecting this idea, also defends unity with the opportunist and chauvinist *Nasha Zarya* group. In Rumania, Rakovsky, while declaring war on opportunism as being responsible for the collapse of the International, is at the same time ready to recognise the legitimacy of the idea of defending the fatherland. All this is a manifestation of the evil which the Dutch Marxists (Gorter and Pannekoek) have called "passive radicalism", and which amounts to replacing revolutionary Marxism with eclecticism in theory, and servility to or impotence towards opportunism, in practice.

THE MARXISTS' SLOGAN IS A SLOGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The war has undoubtedly created a most acute crisis and has immeasurably increased the distress of the masses. The reactionary nature of this war, and the unblushing lies told by the bourgeoisie of *all* countries to conceal their predatory aims with "national" ideology are, on the basis of an objectively revolutionary situation, inevitably creating revolutionary moods among the masses. It is our duty to help the masses become conscious of these moods, deepen them and give them shape. This task finds correct expression only in the slogan: convert the imperialist war into a civil war; *all* consistently waged class struggles in wartime and all seriously conducted "mass-action" tactics inevitably lead to this. It is impossible to foretell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will flare-up in connection with, during or after the first or the second imperialist war of the Great Powers; in any case it is our bounden duty to work systematically and unswervingly in this direction.

The Basle Manifesto makes direct reference to the example set by the Paris Commune, i.e., the conversion of a war between governments into a civil war. Half a century ago, the proletariat was too weak; the objective conditions for socialism had not yet matured, there could be no co-ordination and co-operation between the revolutionary movements in all the belligerent countries; the "national ideology" (the traditions of 1792), with which a section of the Parisian workers were imbued, was a petty-bourgeois weakness, which Marx noted at the time, and was one of the causes of the downfall of the Commune. Half a century since that time, the conditions that then weakened the revolution have ceased to operate, and today it is unpardonable for a socialist to resign himself to a renunciation of activities in the spirit of the Paris Communards.

THE EXAMPLE SET BY THE FRATERNISATION IN THE TRENCHES

Cases of fraternisation between the soldiers of the belligerent nations, even in the trenches, have been reported in the bourgeois newspapers of all the belligerent countries.

The grave importance attached to the matter by the governments and the bourgeoisie is evidenced by the harsh orders against such fraternisation issued by the military authorities (of Germany and Britain). If such cases of fraternisation have proved possible even when opportunism reigns supreme in the top ranks of the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe, and when social-chauvinism has the support of the entire Social-Democratic press and all the authorities of the Second International, then that shows us how possible it would be to shorten the present criminal, reactionary and slave-holders' war and to organise a revolutionary international movement, if systematic work were conducted in this direction, at least by the Left-wing socialists in all the belligerent countries.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AN UNDERGROUND ORGANISATION

No less than the opportunists, leading anarchists all over the world have disgraced themselves with social-chauvinism (in the spirit of Plekhanov and Kautsky) in this war. One of the useful results of this war will undoubtedly be that it will kill both anarchism and opportunism.

While under no circumstances or conditions refraining from utilising all legal opportunities, however small, for organising the masses and for the propaganda of socialism, the Social-Democratic parties must break with subservience to legality. "You shoot first, Messieurs the Bourgeoisie," wrote Engels, hinting at civil war and at the necessity of our violating legality *after* the bourgeoisie had done so. The crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie violate it in all countries, even the freest, and that it is impossible to lead the masses to a revolution unless an underground organisation is set up for the purpose of advocating, discussing, appraising and preparing revolutionary methods of struggle. In Germany, for example, all the *honest* things that socialists are doing, are being done despite despicable opportunism and hypocritical "Kautskyism", and moreover are being done secretly. In Britain, people are being sentenced to penal servitude for printing appeals against joining up.

It is a betrayal of socialism to consider compatible with membership in the Social-Democratic Party any repudiation of underground methods of propaganda, and ridicule of those methods, in the legally published press.

ON THE DEFEAT OF ONE'S "OWN" GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR

The standpoint of social-chauvinism is shared equally by both advocates of victory for their governments in the present war and by advocates of the slogan of "neither victory nor defeat". A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow. Only a bourgeois who believes that a war started by governments must necessarily end as a war between governments, and wants it to end as such, can regard as "ridiculous" and "absurd" the idea that the socialists of *all* the belligerent countries should express their wish that *all* their "own" governments should be defeated. On the contrary, it is a statement of this kind that would be in keeping with the innermost thoughts of every class-conscious worker, and be in line with our activities for the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war.

The serious anti-war agitation being conducted by a section of the British, German and Russian socialists has undoubtedly "weakened the military might" of the respective governments, but that agitation stands to the credit of the socialists. The latter must explain to the masses that they have no other road of salvation except the revolutionary overthrow of their "own" governments, whose difficulties in the present war must be taken advantage of precisely for that purpose.

PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SLOGAN

The temper of the masses in favour of peace often expresses the beginning of protest, anger and a realisation of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to utilise that temper. They will take a most ardent part in any movement and in any demonstration motivated by that sentiment, but they will not deceive the

people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement. Such deception of the people would merely mean playing into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent governments and facilitating their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wants a lasting and democratic peace must stand for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The most widespread deception of the people by the bourgeoisie in the present war consists in their using the ideology of "national liberation" to cloak their predatory aims. The British have promised the liberation of Belgium, the Germans—of Poland, etc. Actually, as we have seen, this is a war waged by the oppressors of most of the world's nations for the purpose of increasing and expanding that oppression.

Socialists cannot achieve their great aim without fighting against all oppression of nations. They must, therefore, unequivocally demand that the Social-Democratic parties of the *oppressor* countries (especially of the so-called "Great" Powers) should recognise and champion the *oppressed* nation's right to self-determination, in the specifically political sense of the term, i.e., the right to political secession. The socialist of a ruling or a colonial nation who does not stand for that right is a chauvinist.

The championing of this right, far from encouraging the formation of petty states, leads, on the contrary, to the freer, fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of large states and federations of states, which are more to the advantage of the masses and are more in keeping with economic development.

In their turn, the socialists of the *oppressed* nations must unfailingly fight for complete unity of the *workers* of the oppressed and oppressor nationalities (this including organisational unity). The idea of the juridical separation of one nation from another (the so-called "cultural-national

autonomy" advocated by Bauer and Renner) is reactionary.

Imperialism is the epoch of the constantly increasing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of "Great" Powers; it is therefore impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognised. "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Marx and Engels). A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat.

CHAPTER II

CLASSES AND PARTIES IN RUSSIA

THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE WAR

In one respect, the Russian Government has not lagged behind its European *confrères*; like them, it has succeeded in deceiving its "own" people on a grand scale. A huge and monstrous machine of falsehood and cunning has been set going in Russia as well, to infect the masses with chauvinism, and create the impression that the tsarist government is waging a "just" war, and is disinterestedly defending its "Slav brothers", etc.

The landowning class and the upper stratum of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie have ardently supported the tsarist government's bellicose policy. They are rightly expecting enormous material gains and privileges for themselves from the carving up of the Turkish and the Austrian legacy. A series of their congresses have already voiced anticipation of the profits that will flow into their pockets should the tsarist army be victorious. Moreover, the reactionaries are very well aware that if anything can stave off the downfall of the Romanov monarchy and delay the new revolution in Russia, it can only be a foreign war ending in victory for the tsar.

Broad strata of the urban "middle" bourgeoisie, of the bourgeois intelligentsia, professional people, etc., have also been infected with chauvinism—at all events at the beginning of the war. The Cadets—the party of the Russian

liberal bourgeoisie—have given the tsar's government full and unconditional support. In the sphere of foreign policy, the Cadets have long been a government party. Pan-Slavism—with the aid of which tsarist diplomacy has more than once carried out its grand political swindles—has become the official ideology of the Cadets. Russian liberalism has degenerated into *national* liberalism. It is vying in "patriotism" with the Black Hundreds; it always willingly votes for militarism on land and at sea, etc. Approximately the same thing is to be seen in the camp of Russian liberalism as in Germany in the seventies of the last century, when "free-thinking" liberalism decayed and from it arose a national-liberal party. The Russian liberal bourgeoisie has definitely taken to the path of counter-revolution. The R.S.D.L.P.'s point of view on this question has been fully confirmed. The facts have shattered the view held by our opportunists that Russian liberalism is still a motive force of a revolution in Russia.

The ruling clique has also succeeded, with the aid of the bourgeois press, the clergy, etc., in rousing chauvinist sentiments among the peasantry. With the return of the soldiers from the field of slaughter, however, sentiment in the rural areas will undoubtedly turn against the tsarist monarchy. The bourgeois-democratic parties that come into contact with the peasantry have failed to withstand the chauvinist wave. The Trudovik party in the Duma refused to vote for war credits, but through its leader Kerensky it made a "patriotic" declaration which played into the hands of the monarchy. In general, the entire legally published Narodnik press followed the liberals' lead. Even the Left wing of bourgeois democracy—the so-called Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which is affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau—is swimming with the same tide. Mr. Rubanovich, that party's representative on the I.S.B., has come out as a self-confessed social-chauvinist. Half of the number of this party's delegates to the London Conference of Socialists of the Entente countries voted for a chauvinist resolution (while the other half abstained from voting). Chauvinists predominate in the illegally published press of the Socialist-Revolutionaries (the newspaper *Novosti*[145] and others). The revolutionaries from "bourgeois circles", i.e.,

bourgeois revolutionaries who are not connected with the working class, have come to a dead end in this war. The sad fate of Kropotkin, Burtsev and Rubanovich is highly significant.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WAR

The proletariat is the only class in Russia that nobody has been able to infect with chauvinism. Only the most ignorant strata of the workers were involved in the few excesses that occurred in the early days of the war. The part played by workers in the Moscow anti-German riots has been greatly exaggerated. By and large, the working class of Russia has proved immune to chauvinism.

The explanation lies in the revolutionary situation in the country and in the Russian proletariat's general conditions of life.

The years 1912-14 marked the beginning of a great new revolutionary upswing in Russia. We again witnessed a great strike movement, the like of which the world has never known. The number involved in the mass revolutionary strike in 1913 was, at the very lowest estimate, one and a half million, and in 1914 it rose to over two million, approaching the 1905 level. The first barricade battles took place in St. Petersburg, on the eve of the war.

The underground Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has performed its duty to the International. The-banner of internationalism has not wavered in its hands. Our Party long ago severed all organisational ties with the opportunist groups and elements; its feet were not weighed down with the fetters of opportunism and of "legalism at any price", this circumstance helping it perform its revolutionary duty—just as the break with Bissolati's opportunist party has helped the Italian comrades.

The general situation in our country does not favour any efflorescence of "socialist" opportunism among the masses of the workers. In Russia we see a series of shades of opportunism and reformism among the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, etc., but it has affected an insignificant minority among the politically active sections of the workers. The privileged stratum of factory workers and clerical staff is

very thin in our country. The fetishism of legality could not appear here. Before the war, the liquidators (the party of the opportunists led by Axelrod, Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov, and others) found no serious support among the masses of the workers. The elections to the Fourth Duma resulted in the return of *all* six of the anti-liquidationist working-class candidates. The circulation of the legally published workers' press in Petrograd and Moscow and the collection of funds for it have incontrovertibly proved that four-fifths of the class-conscious workers are opposed to opportunism and liquidationism.

Since the beginning of the war, the tsar's government has arrested and exiled thousands and thousands of advanced workers, members of our underground R.S.D.L.P. This circumstance, together with the establishment of martial law in the country, the suppression of our newspapers, and so forth, has retarded the movement. But for all that, our Party is continuing its underground revolutionary activities. In Petrograd, our Party Committee is publishing the underground newspaper *Proletarsky Golos*.[146]

Articles from *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Central Organ published abroad, are reprinted in Petrograd and sent out to the provinces. Leaflets are secretly printed, and are circulated even in army barracks. In various secluded places outside the city, secret workers' meetings are held. Of late, big strikes of metalworkers have begun in Petrograd. In connection with these strikes, our Petrograd Committee has issued several appeals to the workers.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR GROUP IN THE DUMA, AND THE WAR

In 1913 a split took place among the Social-Democratic deputies to the Duma. On one side were the seven supporters of opportunism, led by Chkheidze; they had been returned by seven non-proletarian gubernias, where the workers totalled 214,000. On the other side were six deputies, *all* from the workers' curia, elected for the most industrialised centres in Russia, in which the workers number 1,008,000.

The chief issue in the split was the *alternative* between the tactics of revolutionary Marxism and the tactics of op-

portunist reformism. In practice, the disagreement manifested itself mainly in the sphere of *extra*-parliamentary work among the masses. In Russia this work had to be conducted secretly, if those conducting it wished to remain on a revolutionary basis. The Chkheidze group remained a faithful ally of the liquidators (who repudiated underground work) and defended them in all talks with workers and at all meetings. Hence the split. The six deputies formed the R.S.D.L. Duma group, which, as a year's work has incontrovertibly shown, has the support of the vast majority of Russian workers.

On the outbreak of the war the disagreement stood out in glaring relief. The Chkheidze group confined itself to parliamentary action. It did not vote for war credits, for that would have roused a storm of indignation among the workers (we have seen that in Russia even the petty-bourgeois Trudoviks did not vote for war credits); neither did it utter any protest against social-chauvinism.

Expressing the political line of our Party, the R.S.D.L. Duma group acted quite differently. It carried into the midst of the working class a protest against the war, and conducted anti-imperialist propaganda among the masses of the Russian proletarians.

It met with a very sympathetic response from the workers—which frightened the government, compelling it, in flagrant violation of its own laws, to arrest our deputy comrades and exile them to Siberia for life. In its very first official announcement of the arrest of our comrades, the tsarist government wrote:

"An entirely exceptional position in this respect was taken by some members of Social-Democratic societies, the object of whose activities was to shake the military might of Russia by agitating against the war, by means of underground appeals and verbal propaganda."

Only our Party, through its Central Committee, gave a negative reply to Vandervelde's well-known appeal for a "temporary" cessation of the struggle against tsarism. Moreover, it has now become known, from the testimony of Prince Kudashev, the tsar's envoy to Belgium, that Vandervelde did not draw up this appeal alone, but in collaboration with the above-mentioned envoy. The guiding centre

of the liquidators agreed with Vandervelde and officially stated in the press that "in its activities *it does not oppose the war*".

The principal accusation levelled by the tsar's government against our deputy comrades was that they distributed this negative reply to Vandervelde among the workers.

At the trial, the Prosecutor for the Crown, Mr. Nenarokomov, set up the German and French socialists as examples to our comrades. "The German Social-Democrats," he said, "voted for war credits and proved to be friends of the government. That is how the German Social-Democrats acted, but the dismal knights of Russian Social-Democracy did not act in this way.... The socialists of Belgium and France unanimously forgot their quarrels with the other classes, forgot party strife, and unhesitatingly rallied about the flag." But the members of the R.S.D.L. group, on instructions from the Party's Central Committee, did not act in this way, he complained....

The trial revealed an imposing picture of the extensive underground anti-war agitation our Party was conducting among the masses of the proletariat. It goes without saying, that the tsar's court "uncovered" only a fraction of the activities our comrades were conducting in this field, but even what was revealed showed how much had been done within the brief span of a few months.

At the trial the underground manifestos issued by our groups and committees, against the war and for international tactics, were read out. The members of the R.S.D.L. group were in touch with the class-conscious workers all over Russia and did everything in their power to help the workers appraise the war from the Marxist standpoint.

Comrade Muranov, the deputy of the workers of Kharkov Gubernia, stated at the trial:

"Realising that the people did not return me to the Duma just to warm my seat there, I travelled about the country to ascertain the mood of the working class." He admitted that he had undertaken the functions of a secret agitator of our Party, that in the Urals he had organised workers' committees at the Verkhneisetsky Works and elsewhere. The trial showed that, after the outbreak of war, members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group travelled, for propaganda

purposes, throughout almost the whole of Russia and that Muranov, Petrovsky, Badayev and others arranged numerous workers' meetings, at which anti-war resolutions were passed, and so on.

The tsar's government threatened the accused with capital punishment. That was why they did not all behave at the trial as courageously as Comrade Muranov. They tried to make it difficult for the Prosecutors to secure convictions. This is being unworthily utilised by the Russian social-chauvinists so as to obscure the crux of the issue, viz., the kind of parliamentarianism the working class needs.

Parliamentarianism is recognised by Südekum and Heine, Sembat and Vaillant, Bissolati and Mussolini, Chkheidze and Plekhanov; it is also recognised by our comrades in the R.S.D.L. group, as well as by the Bulgarian and Italian comrades who have broken with the chauvinists. There are different kinds of parliamentarianism. Some utilise the parliamentary arena in order to curry favour with their governments, or, at best, to wash their hands of everything, as the Chkheidze group has done. Others utilise parliamentarianism in order to remain revolutionary to the end, to perform their duty as socialists and internationalists even under the most difficult circumstances. The parliamentary activities of some give them ministerial posts; the parliamentary activities of others take them to prison, exile, and penal servitude. Some serve the bourgeoisie, others—the proletariat. Some are social-imperialists. Others are revolutionary Marxists.

CHAPTER III

THE RESTORATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

How should the International be restored? But first, a few words about how the International *should not* be restored.

THE METHOD OF THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS AND OF THE "CENTRE"

Of course, the social-chauvinists of all countries are great "internationalists"! Since the very beginning of the war they have been weighed down with concern over the International. On the one hand, they assure us that the

talk about the *collapse* of the International is "exaggerated". Actually, nothing out of the common has happened. Listen to Kautsky: the International is simply a "peace-time instrument"; naturally, this instrument has not proved quite up to the mark in wartime. On the other hand, the social-chauvinists of all countries have found a very simple, and, what is most important, an international way out of the situation that has arisen. The solution is simple: it is only necessary to wait till the war ends, but until then the socialists of each country must defend their "fatherland" and support their "own" government. When the war ends, there will be a mutual "amnesty", the admission that *everybody* was right and that in peacetime we live like brothers; in wartime, however, we stick to such-and-such resolutions, and call upon the German workers to exterminate their French brothers, and vice versa.

Kautsky, Plekhanov, Victor Adler and Heine are all equally agreed on this. Victor Adler writes that "when we have passed through this difficult time, our first duty will be to refrain from pointing to the mote in each other's eye". Kautsky asserts that "till now no serious socialists from any side have spoken in a way to arouse apprehension" concerning the fate of the International. "It is unpleasant to grasp hands [of the German Social-Democrats] that reek of the blood of the innocently slaughtered," Plekhanov says, but at once goes on to propose an "amnesty". "It will here be quite appropriate," he writes, "to subordinate *the heart to the mind*. For the sake of the great cause, the International will have to take into consideration even belated remorse." In *Sozialistische Monatshefte* Heine describes Vandervelde's behaviour as "courageous and dignified", and sets him up as an example to the German Lefts.

In short, when the war ends, appoint a commission consisting of Kautsky and Plekhanov, Vandervelde and Adler, and a "unanimous" resolution in the spirit of a mutual amnesty will be drawn up in a trice. The dispute will be nicely hushed up. Instead of being helped to understand what has taken place, the workers will be deceived with a sham and paper "unity". A union of the social-chauvinists and hypocrites of all countries will be described as restoration of the International.

We must not close our eyes to the great danger inherent in such a "restoration". The social-chauvinists of all countries are equally interested in that outcome. All of them are equally unwilling that the masses of the workers of their respective countries should themselves try to understand the issue: socialism *or* nationalism? All of them are equally interested in concealing one other's sins. None of them are able to propose anything except what has already been proposed by Kautsky, that past master of "international" hypocrisy.

Yet this danger has scarcely been realised. During a year of war, we have seen a number of attempts to restore international ties. We shall not speak of the London and Vienna conferences, at which outspoken chauvinists got together to help the General Staffs and the bourgeoisie of their "fatherlands". We are referring to the Lugano and Copenhagen conferences,[147] the International Women's Conference, and the International Youth Conference.[148] These assemblies were animated by the best intentions, but they wholly failed to discern the above-mentioned danger. They neither laid down a militant internationalist line, nor indicated to the proletariat the danger threatening it from the social-chauvinists' method of "restoring" the International. At best, they confined themselves to repeating the old resolutions, without telling the workers that the cause of socialism is lost unless a struggle is waged against the social-chauvinists. At best they were *marking time*.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AMONG THE OPPOSITION

There cannot be the least doubt that what interests all internationalists most is the state of affairs among the German Social-Democratic opposition. The official German Social-Democratic Party, the strongest and the foremost in the Second International, has dealt the international workers' organisation the most telling blow. At the same time, however, it was among the German Social-Democrats that the strongest opposition arose. Of all the big European parties, it is in the German party that a loud voice of protest was first raised by comrades who have remained loyal to the banner of socialism. We were delighted to read

the journals *Lichtstrahlen* and *Die Internationale*. It gave us still greater pleasure to learn of the distribution in Germany of secretly printed revolutionary manifestos, as for example the one entitled: "The Main Enemy Is Within the Country". This showed that the spirit of socialism is alive among the German workers, and that there are still people in Germany capable of upholding revolutionary Marxism.

The split in the present-day socialist movement has most strikingly revealed itself within the German Social-Democratic movement. Three trends can be clearly distinguished here: the opportunist chauvinists, who have nowhere sunk to such foul apostasy as in Germany; the Kautskian "Centre", which have here proved totally incapable of playing any other role than that of menials to the opportunists; the Lefts, who are the only Social-Democrats in Germany.

Naturally, the state of affairs among the German Lefts is what interests us most. In them we see our comrades, the hope of all the internationalist elements.

What is the state of affairs among them?

The journal *Die Internationale* was quite right in writing that the German Lefts are still in a state of ferment, that considerable regroupings still await them, and that within them some elements are more resolute and others less resolute.

Of course, we Russian internationalists do not in the least claim the right to interfere in the internal affairs of our comrades, the German Lefts. We understand that they alone are fully competent to determine their methods of combating the opportunists, according to the conditions of time and place. Only we consider it our right and our duty to express our frank opinion on the state of affairs.

We are convinced that the author of the leading article in the journal *Die Internationale* was perfectly right in stating that the Kautskian "Centre" is doing more harm to Marxism than avowed social-chauvinism. Anyone who plays down differences, or, in the guise of Marxism, now teaches the workers that which Kautskyism is preaching, is in fact lulling the workers, and doing more harm than the Südekums and Heines, who are putting the issue

squarely and are compelling the workers to try to make up their own minds.

The Fronde against the "official bodies" which Kautsky and Haase have of late been permitting themselves should mislead nobody. The disagreements between them and the Scheidemanns are not on fundamentals. The former believe that Hindenburg and Mackensen are *already* victorious and that they can already permit themselves the luxury of protesting against annexations. The latter believe that Hindenburg and Mackensen are not *yet* victorious and that, therefore, it is necessary "to hold out to the end".

Kautskyism is waging only a sham struggle against the "official bodies" just to be able, after the war, to conceal from the workers the clash of principles and to paper over the issue with a thousand and one padded resolutions drawn up in a vaguely "Leftist" spirit, in the drafting of which the diplomats of the Second International are such experts.

It is quite understandable that, in their difficult struggle against the "official bodies", the German opposition should also make use of this unprincipled Fronde raised by Kautskyism. However, to any internationalist, hostility towards neo-Kautskyism must remain the touchstone. Only he is a genuine internationalist who combats Kautskyism, and understands that, *even after* its leaders' pretended change of intention, the centre remains, on all fundamental issues, an *ally of the chauvinists and the opportunists*.

In general, our attitude towards wavering elements in the International is of tremendous importance. These elements—mainly socialists of a *pacifist* shade—are to be found both in the neutral countries and in some of the belligerent countries (in Britain, for example, the Independent Labour Party). Such elements can be our fellow-travellers. Ties with them for a struggle against the social-chauvinists are necessary. It should, however, be remembered that they are *merely* fellow-travellers, and that on all main and fundamental issues, these elements will march against us, not with us, when the International is being restored; they will side with Kautsky, Scheidemann, Vandervelde, and Sembat. At international conferences we must not restrict our programme to what is acceptable to these elements. If we do, we shall fall captive to the

wavering pacifists. This is what happened, for example, at the International Women's Conference in Berne. There the German delegation, which supported Comrade Clara Zetkin's point of view, actually played the part of the "Centre". The Women's Conference said only that which was acceptable to the delegates of the opportunist Dutch party led by Troelstra, and to the delegates of the Independent Labour Party; we shall always remember that, at the London conference of "Entente" chauvinists, the I.L.P. voted in favour of Vandervelde's resolution. We would like to express our greatest esteem for the I.L.P. for the courageous struggle it has been waging against the British Government during the war. We know, however, that this party has never taken a Marxist stand. For our part, we hold that today it is the main task of the Social-Democratic opposition to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism, to tell the workers firmly and definitely how we regard imperialist wars, and to advance a call for mass revolutionary action, i.e., convert the period of imperialist wars into the beginning of a period of civil wars.

Despite everything, revolutionary Social-Democratic elements exist in many countries. They are to be found in Germany, Russia, Scandinavia (where Comrade Höglund represents an influential trend), the Balkans (the party of the Bulgarian "Tesnyaki"), Italy, Britain (part of the British Socialist Party), France (Vaillant himself has admitted in *l'Humanité* that he has received letters of protest from internationalists, but he has not published any one of them in full), Holland (the Tribunists[149]), and so on. To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism—such is the task of the day.

Conferences with so-called programmes of "action" have till now confined themselves to announcing a more or less outspoken programme of sheer pacifism. Marxism is not pacifism. Of course, the speediest possible termination of the war must be striven for. However, the "peace" demand acquires a proletarian significance only if a *revolutionary*

struggle is called for. Without a series of revolutions, what is called a democratic peace is a philistine Utopia. The purpose of a real programme of action can be served only by a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses a full and clear explanation of what has taken place, explains what imperialism is and how it should be combated, declares openly that the collapse of the Second International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for a Marxist International to be built up without and *against* the opportunists. Only a programme that shows that we have faith in ourselves and in Marxism and that we have proclaimed a life-and-death struggle against opportunism will sooner or later win us the sympathy of the genuinely proletarian masses.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has long parted company with its opportunists. Besides, the Russian opportunists have now become chauvinists. This only fortifies us in our opinion that a split with them is essential in the interests of socialism. We are convinced that the Social-Democrats' present differences with the social-chauvinists are in no way less marked than the socialists' differences with the anarchists when the Social-Democrats parted company with the latter. The opportunist Monitor was right when he wrote, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, that the unity of today is to the advantage of the opportunists and the bourgeoisie, because it has compelled the Lefts to submit to the chauvinists and prevents the workers from understanding the controversy and forming their own genuinely working-class and genuinely socialist party. We are firmly convinced that, in the present state of affairs, a split with the opportunists and chauvinists is the prime duty of revolutionaries, just as a split with the yellow trade unions, the anti-Semites, the liberal workers' unions, etc., was essential in helping speed up the enlightenment of backward workers and draw them into the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party.

In our opinion, the Third International should be built up on that kind of revolutionary basis. To our Party, the

question of the expediency of a break with the social-chauvinists does not exist, it has been answered with finality. The only question that exists for our Party is whether this can be achieved on an international scale in the immediate future.

It is perfectly obvious that to create an *international* Marxist organisation, there must be a readiness to form independent Marxist parties in the *various* countries. As a country with the oldest and strongest working-class movement, Germany is of decisive importance. The immediate future will show whether the conditions are mature for the formation of a new and Marxist International. If they are, our Party will gladly join such a Third International, purged of opportunism and chauvinism. If they are not, then that will show that a more or less protracted period of evolution is needed for that purging to be effected. Our Party will then form the extreme opposition within the old International, pending the time when the conditions in the various countries make possible the formation of an international workingmen's association standing on the basis of revolutionary Marxism.

We do not and cannot know what road world developments will take in the next few years. What we do know for certain and are unshakably convinced of is that *our* Party will work indefatigably in the above-mentioned direction, in *our* country and among *our* proletariat, and through its day-by-day activities will build up the Russian section of the *Marxist* International.

In Russia too there is no lack of avowed social-chauvinists and Centrist groups. These people will fight against the formation of a Marxist International. We know that, in principle, Plekhanov shares the standpoint of Südekum and is already holding out a hand to the latter. We know that, under Axelrod's leadership, the so-called Organising Committee is preaching Kautskyism on Russian soil. Under a cloak of working-class unity, these people are calling for unity with the opportunists and, through the latter, with the bourgeoisie. Everything we know about the present-day working-class movement in Russia, however, gives us full assurance that the class-conscious proletariat of Russia will, as hitherto, remain *with our Party*.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE SPLIT, AND THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

The tactics of the R.S.D.L.P. in relation to the war, as outlined above, are the inevitable outcome of the thirty years' development of Social-Democracy in Russia. These tactics, as well as the present state of Social-Democracy in our country, cannot be properly understood without going deeper into the history of our Party. That is why here, too, we must remind the reader of the major facts in that history.

As an ideological trend, the Social-Democratic movement arose in 1883, when Social-Democratic views, as applied to Russia, were for the first time systematically expounded abroad by the Emancipation of Labour group. Until the early nineties, Social-Democracy was an ideological trend without links with the mass working-class movement in Russia. At the beginning of the nineties, the growth of public consciousness and the unrest and strike movement among the workers, turned Social-Democracy into an active political force inseparably connected with the struggle (both economic and political) of the working class. It was from that time too that the split into Economists and Iskrists began in the Social-Democratic movement.

THE ECONOMISTS AND THE OLD *ISKRA* (1894-1903)

Economism was an opportunist trend in Russian Social-Democracy. Its political essence was summed up in the programme: "for the workers—the economic struggle; for the liberals—the political struggle". Its theoretical mainstay was so-called "legal Marxism" or "Struvism", which "recognised" a "Marxism" that was completely devoid of any revolutionary spirit and adapted to the needs of the liberal bourgeoisie. Pleading the backwardness of the mass of workers in Russia, and wishing to "march with the masses", the Economists restricted the tasks and scope of the working-class movement to the economic struggle and to political support for liberalism; they set themselves no independent political or revolutionary tasks.

The old *Iskra* (1900-03) waged a victorious struggle against Economism, for the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy. The finest elements in the class-conscious proletariat sided with *Iskra*. Several years before the revolution, the Social-Democrats came out with a most consistent and uncompromising programme, whose correctness was borne out by the class struggle and by the action of the masses during the 1905 Revolution. Whereas the Economists adapted themselves to the backwardness of the masses, *Iskra* was educating the workers' vanguard that was capable of leading the masses onward. The present-day arguments of the social-chauvinists (i.e., the need to reckon with the masses; the progressiveness of imperialism; the "illusions" harboured by the revolutionaries, etc.), were *all* advanced by the Economists. It was twenty years ago that the Russian Social-Democrats made their first acquaintance with the opportunist modification of Marxism into Struvism.

MENSHEVISM AND BOLSHEVISM (1903-1908)

The period of bourgeois-democratic revolution gave rise to a fresh struggle between Social-Democratic trends; this was a direct continuation of the previous struggle. Economism developed into Menshevism. The defence of the old *Iskra* revolutionary tactics gave rise to Bolshevism.

In the turbulent years of 1905-07, Menshevism was an opportunist trend backed by the bourgeois liberals, which brought liberal-bourgeois tendencies into the working-class movement. Its essence lay in an adaptation of the working-class struggle to suit liberalism. Bolshevism, on the contrary, set the Social-Democratic workers the task of rousing the democratic peasantry for the revolutionary struggle, despite the vacillation and treachery of the liberals. As the Mensheviks themselves admitted on more than one occasion, the mass of workers followed the Bolshevik lead in all the most important actions of the revolution.

The 1905 Revolution tested, developed and steeled the uncompromisingly revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics in Russia. The direct action of classes and parties repeatedly revealed the link between Social-Democratic opportunism (Menshevism) and liberalism.

MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM (1908-1914)

The period of counter-revolution again placed on the order of the day—this time in an entirely new form—the question of the opportunist and revolutionary tactics of the Social-Democrats. The mainstream in Menshevism, regardless of protests from many of its finest representatives, brought forth the liquidationist trend, a renunciation of the struggle for another revolution in Russia, a renunciation of underground organisation and activities, contempt for and ridicule of the "underground", of the slogan for a republic, etc. The group of legal contributors to the journal *Nasha Zarya* (Messrs. Potresov, Cherevanin, and others) formed a core—independent of the old Social-Democratic Party—which in a thousand ways has been supported, publicised and nurtured by the liberal bourgeoisie of Russia, who are out to win the workers away from the revolutionary struggle.

This group of opportunists was expelled from the Party by the January 1912 Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., which restored the Party, in the teeth of furious resistance from a number of groups and coteries abroad. For over two years (the beginning of 1912 until mid-1914) a stubborn struggle was in progress between the two Social-Democratic parties: the Central Committee, which was elected in January 1912, and the Organising Committee, which refused to recognise the January Conference and wanted to restore the Party in a different way, by maintaining unity with the *Nasha Zarya* group. A stubborn struggle raged between the two workers' dailies (*Pravda*, and *Luch*[150] and their successors), and between the two Social-Democratic groups in the Fourth Duma (the R.S.D.L. group of Pravdists or Marxists, and the "Social-Democratic group" of the liquidators led by Chkheidze).

The Pravdists, who championed loyalty to the Party's revolutionary principles, encouraged the incipient revival of the working-class movement (especially after the spring of 1912), combined underground and legal organisation, the press and agitation, and rallied about themselves the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers, whereas the liquidators—who as a political force operated

exclusively through the *Nasha Zarya* group—banked on the all-round support of the liberal-bourgeois elements.

The open money contributions made by workers' groups to the newspapers of the two parties—a form of payment of S.D. *membership dues* adapted to the Russian conditions of the time (and the only one legally possible and easily verifiable by the public)—strikingly confirmed the proletarian source of the strength and influence of the Pravdists (Marxists), and the bourgeois-liberal source of the liquidators (and their O.C.). Here are the brief figures of these contributions, which are given in full in the book *Marxism and Liquidationism*[151] and summarised in the German Social-Democratic *Leipziger Volkszeitung*[152] of July 21, 1914.

The number and sums of contributions to the St. Petersburg daily newspapers, Marxist (Pravdist) and liquidationist, from January 1 to May 13, 1914 were the following:

	Pravdists		Liquidators	
	Number of contributions	Sum in rubles	Number of contributions	Sum in rubles
From workers' groups	2,873	18,934	671	5,296
From non-workers' groups	713	2,650	453	6,760

Thus by 1914 our Party had united four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia around revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics. For the whole of 1913 the Pravdists received contributions from 2,181 workers' groups, the liquidators from 661. The figures from January 1, 1913 to May 13, 1914 were: 5,054 contributions from workers' groups for the Pravdists (i.e., for our Party), and 1,332, i.e., 20.8 per cent, for the liquidators.

MARXISM AND SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM (1914-1915)

The great European war of 1914-15 has given all the European Social-Democrats, as well as the Russian, an opportunity of putting their tactics to the test of a crisis of a world-wide scale. The reactionary and predatory nature of this war between slave-holders stands out in far more striking relief in the case of tsarism than it does in the

case of the other governments. Yet the liquidators' main group (the only one which, besides ours, exerts serious influence in Russia, thanks to its liberal connections) has turned towards social-chauvinism! With its fairly lengthy monopoly of legality, this *Nasha Zarya* group has conducted propaganda among the masses, in favour of "non-resistance to the war", and victory for the Triple (and now Quadruple) Entente; it has accused German imperialism of extraordinary sins, etc. Plekhanov, who, since 1903, has given numerous examples of his utter political spinelessness and his desertion to opportunism, has taken this stand even more emphatically (which has won him praise from the entire bourgeois press of Russia). Plekhanov has sunk so low as to declare that tsarism is waging a just war, and to grant interviews to Italian government newspapers, urging that country to enter the war!

The correctness of our appraisal of liquidationism and of the expulsion of the main group of liquidators from our Party has thus been fully confirmed. The liquidators' real programme and the real significance of their trend today consist, not only in opportunism in general, but in a defence of the dominant-nation privileges and advantages of the Great-Russian landowners and bourgeoisie. Liquidationism is a trend of *national liberal*-labour policy. It is an alliance of a section of the radical petty bourgeoisie and a tiny section of privileged workers, with their "own" national bourgeoisie, against the mass of the proletariat.

THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE RANKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

As we have already said, our January 1912 Conference has not been recognised by the liquidators, or by a number of groups abroad (those of Plekhanov, Alexinsky, Trotsky, and others), or by the so-called "national" (i.e., non-Great Russian) Social-Democrats. Among the numberless epithets hurled against us, "usurpers" and "splitters" have been most frequently repeated. We have replied by quoting precise and objectively verifiable figures showing that our Party has united four-fifths of the class-conscious workers in Russia. This is no small figure, considering the

difficulties of underground activities in a period of counter-revolution .

If "unity" were possible in Russia on the basis of Social-Democratic tactics, without expelling the *Nasha Zarya* group, why have our numerous opponents not achieved it *even among themselves*? Three and a half years have elapsed since January 1912, and all this time our opponents, much as they have desired to do so, have failed to form a Social-Democratic party in opposition to us. This fact is our Party's best defence.

The entire history of the Social-Democratic groups that are fighting against our Party has been a history of collapse and disintegration. In March 1912, all of them, without exception, "united" in reviling us. But already in August 1912, when the so-called August bloc* was formed against us, disintegration set in among them. Some of the groups defected from them. They were unable to form a party and a Central Committee; what they set up was only an Organising Committee "for the purpose of restoring unity". Actually, this O.C. proved an ineffective cover for the liquidationist group in Russia. Throughout the tremendous upswing of the working-class movement in Russia and the mass strikes of 1912-14, the only group in the entire August bloc to conduct work among the masses was the *Nasha Zarya* group, whose strength lay in its links with the liberals. Early in 1914, the Lettish Social-Democrats officially withdrew from the August bloc (the Polish Social-Democrats did not join it), while Trotsky, one of the leaders of the bloc, left it unofficially, again forming his own separate group. At the Brussels Conference of July 1914, at which the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, Kautsky and Vandervelde participated, the so-called Brussels bloc was formed against us, which the Letts did not join, and from which the Polish opposition Social-Democrats forthwith withdrew. On the outbreak of war, this bloc collapsed. *Nasha Zarya*, Plekhanov, Alexinsky and An,[153] leader of the Caucasian Social-Democrats, became open social-chauvinists, who came out for the desirability of Germany's defeat. The

* See Note 180.—*Tr.*

O.C. and the Bund defended the social-chauvinists and the principles of social-chauvinism. Although it voted against the war credits (in Russia, even the bourgeois democrats, the Trudoviks, voted against them), the Chkheidze Duma group remained *Nasha Zarya*'s faithful ally. Plekhanov, Alexinsky and Co., our extreme social-chauvinists, were quite pleased with the Chkheidze group. In Paris, the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (the former *Golos*) was launched, with the participation mainly of Martov and Trotsky, who wanted to combine a platonic defence of internationalism with an absolute demand for unity with *Nasha Zarya*, the O.C. or the Chkheidze group. After 250 issues, this newspaper was itself compelled to admit its disintegration: one section of the editorial board gravitated towards our Party, Martov remained faithful to the O.C. which publicly censured *Nashe Slovo* for its "anarchism" (just as the opportunists in Germany, David and Co., *Internationale Korrespondenz*[154] and Legien and Co. have accused Comrade Liebknecht of anarchism); Trotsky announced his rupture with the O.C., but wanted to stand with the Chkheidze group. Here are the programme and the tactics of the Chkheidze group, as formulated by one of its leaders. In No. 5, 1915, of *Sovremenny Mir*,[155] journal of the Plekhanov and Alexinsky trend, Chkhenkeli wrote: "*To say that German Social-Democracy was in a position to prevent its country from going to war and failed to do so would mean either secretly wishing that it should not only have breathed its last at the barricades, but also have the fatherland breathe its last, or looking at nearby things through an anarchist's telescope.*"*

These few lines express the sum and substance of social-chauvinism: both the justification, in principle, of the idea of "defence of the fatherland" in the present war, and mockery—with the permission of the military censors—of the preachment of and preparation for revolution. It is not at all a question of whether the German Social-Demo-

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* *S. M.* No. 5, 1915, p. 148. Trotsky recently announced that he deemed it his task to enhance the prestige of the Chkheidze group in the International. No doubt Chkhenkeli will with equal energy enhance Trotsky's prestige in the International....

crats were or were not in a position to prevent war, or whether, in general, revolutionaries can guarantee the success of a revolution. The question is: shall socialists behave like socialists or really breathe their last in the embrace of the imperialist bourgeoisie?

OUR PARTY'S TASKS

Social-Democracy in Russia arose before the bourgeois-democratic revolution (1905) in our country, and gained strength during the revolution and counter-revolution. The backwardness of Russia explains the extraordinary multiplicity of trends and shades of petty-bourgeois opportunism in our country; whereas the influence of Marxism in Europe and the stability of the legally existing Social-Democratic parties before the war converted our exemplary liberals into near-admirers of "reasonable", "European" (non-revolutionary), "legal" "Marxist" theory and Social-Democracy. The working class of Russia could not build up its party otherwise than in a resolute thirty-year struggle against all the varieties of opportunism. The experience of the world war, which has brought about the shameful collapse of European opportunism and has strengthened the alliance between our national-liberals and social-chauvinist liquidationism, has still further fortified our conviction that our Party must follow the same consistently revolutionary road.

ON THE SLOGAN FOR A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

In No. 40 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* we reported that a conference of our Party's groups abroad had decided to defer the question of the "United States of Europe" slogan pending a discussion, in the press, on the *economic* aspect of the matter.*

At our conference the debate on this question assumed a purely political character. Perhaps this was partly caused by the Central Committee's Manifesto having formulated this slogan as a forthright political one ("the immediate *political* slogan...", as it says there); not only did it advance the slogan of a republican United States of Europe, but expressly emphasised that this slogan is meaningless and false "without the revolutionary overthrow of the German, Austrian and Russian monarchies".

It would be quite wrong to object to such a presentation of the question *within the limits* of a political appraisal of this slogan—e.g., to argue that it obscures or weakens, etc., the slogan of a socialist revolution. Political changes of a truly democratic nature, and especially political revolutions, can under no circumstances whatsoever either obscure or weaken the slogan of a socialist revolution. On the contrary, they always bring it closer, extend its basis, and draw new sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian masses into the socialist struggle. On the other hand, political revolutions are inevitable in the course of the socialist revolution, which should not be regarded as a single act, but as a period of turbulent political and

* See p. 158 of this volume.—*Ed.*

economic upheavals, the most intense class struggle, civil war, revolutions, and counter-revolutions.

But while the slogan of a republican United States of Europe—if accompanied by the revolutionary overthrow of the three most reactionary monarchies in Europe, headed by the Russian—is quite invulnerable as a political slogan there still remains the highly important question of its economic content and significance. From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism—i.e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the "advanced" and "civilised" colonial powers—a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary.

Capital has become international and monopolist. The world has been carved up by a handful of Great Powers, i.e., powers successful in the great plunder and oppression of nations. The four Great Powers of Europe—Britain, France, Russia and Germany, with an aggregate population of between 250,000,000 and 300,000,000, and an area of about 7,000,000 square kilometres—possess colonies with a population of *almost 500 million* (494,500,000) and an area of 64,600,000 square kilometres, i.e., almost half the surface of the globe (133,000,000 square kilometres exclusive of Arctic and Antarctic regions). Add to this the three Asian states—China, Turkey and Persia, now being rent piecemeal by thugs that are waging a war of "liberation", namely, Japan, Russia, Britain and France. Those three Asian states, which may be called semi-colonies (in reality they are now 90 per cent colonies), have a total population of 360,000,000 and an area of 14,500,000 square kilometres (almost one and a half times the area of all Europe).

Furthermore, Britain, France and Germany have invested capital abroad to the value of no less than 70,000 million rubles. The business of securing "legitimate" profits from this tidy sum—these exceed 3,000 million rubles annually—is carried out by the national committees of the millionaires, known as governments, which are equipped with armies and navies and which provide the sons and brothers of the millionaires with jobs in the colonies and semi-colonies as viceroys, consuls, ambassadors, officials of all kinds, clergymen, and other leeches.

That is how the plunder of about a thousand million of the earth's population by a handful of Great Powers is organised in the epoch of the highest development of capitalism. No other organisation is possible under capitalism. Renounce colonies, "spheres of influence", and the export of capital? To think that it is possible means coming down to the level of some snivelling parson who every Sunday preaches to the rich on the lofty principles of Christianity and advises them to give the poor, well, if not millions, at least several hundred rubles yearly.

A United States of Europe under capitalism is tantamount to an agreement on the partition of colonies. Under capitalism, however, no other basis and no other principle of division are possible except force. A multi-millionaire cannot share the "national income" of a capitalist country with anyone otherwise than "in proportion to the capital invested" (with a bonus thrown in, so that the biggest capital may receive more than its share). Capitalism is private ownership of the means of production, and anarchy in production. To advocate a "just" division of income on such a basis is sheer Proudhonism, stupid philistinism. No division can be effected otherwise than in "proportion to strength", and strength changes with the course of economic development. Following 1871, the rate of Germany's accession of strength was three or four times as rapid as that of Britain and France, and of Japan about ten times as rapid as Russia's. There is and there can be no other way of testing the real might of a capitalist state than by war. War does not contradict the fundamentals of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable outcome of those fundamentals. Under capitalism the smooth economic growth of individual enterprises or individual states is impossible. Under capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics.

Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists ... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America, who

have been badly done out of their share by the present partition of colonies, and the increase of whose might during the last fifty years has been immeasurably more rapid than that of backward and monarchist Europe, now turning senile. Compared with the United States of America, Europe as a whole denotes economic stagnation. On the present economic basis, i.e., under capitalism, a United States of Europe would signify an organisation of reaction to retard America's more rapid development. The times when the cause of democracy and socialism was associated only with Europe alone have gone for ever.

A United States of the World (not of Europe alone) is the state form of the unification and freedom of nations which we associate with socialism—until the time when the complete victory of communism brings about the total disappearance of the state, including the democratic. As a separate slogan, however, the slogan of a United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first, because it merges with socialism; second, because it may be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in a single country is impossible, and it may also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to the others.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone. After expropriating the capitalists and organising their own socialist production, the victorious proletariat of that country will arise *against* the rest of the world—the capitalist world—attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, stirring uprisings in those countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states. The political form of a society wherein the proletariat is victorious in overthrowing the bourgeoisie will be a democratic republic, which will more and more concentrate the forces of the proletariat of a given nation or nations, in the struggle against states that have not yet gone over to socialism. The abolition of classes is impossible without a dictatorship of the oppressed class, of the proletariat. A free union of nations in socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn

struggle of the socialist republics against the backward states.

It is for these reasons and after repeated discussions at the conference of R.S.D.L.P. groups abroad, and following that conference, that the Central Organ's editors have come to the conclusion that the slogan for a United States of Europe is an erroneous one.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 44,
August 23, 1915

Published according to
the text in *Sotsial-Demokrat*

ON THE SLOGAN FOR THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

EDITORIAL COMMENT BY *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT* ON THE MANIFESTO ON WAR ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.

The demand for a United States of Europe, as advanced by the Central Committee's Manifesto, which accompanied it with a call for the overthrow of the monarchies in Russia, Austria, and Germany, is distinct from the pacifist interpretation of this slogan by Kautsky and others.

Issue No. 44 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, our Party's Central Organ, carries an editorial proving the economic erroneousness of the United States of Europe slogan.* Either this is a demand that cannot be implemented under capitalism, inasmuch as it presupposes the establishment of a planned world economy, with a partition of colonies, spheres of influence, etc., among the individual countries, or else it is a reactionary slogan, one that signifies a temporary union of the Great Powers of Europe with the aim of enhancing the oppression of colonies and of plundering the more rapidly developing countries—Japan and America.

Written in late August 1915

Published in the pamphlet *Socialism and War*, Geneva, 1915

Published according to the pamphlet

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* See pp. 339-43 of this volume.—*Ed.*

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE LEFT WING AT ZIMMERWALD

The present war has been engendered by imperialism. Capitalism has already achieved that highest stage. Society's productive forces and the magnitudes of capital have outgrown the narrow limits of the individual national states. Hence the striving on the part of the Great Powers to enslave other nations and to seize colonies as sources of raw material and spheres of investment of capital. The whole world is merging into a single economic organism; it has been carved up among a handful of Great Powers. The objective conditions for socialism have fully matured, and the present war is a war of the capitalists for privileges and monopolies that might delay the downfall of capitalism.

The socialists, who seek to liberate labour from the yoke of capital and who defend the world-wide solidarity of the workers, are struggling against any kind of oppression and inequality of nations. When the bourgeoisie was a progressive class, and the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism and oppression by other nations stood on the historical order of the day, the socialists, as invariably the most consistent and most resolute of democrats, recognised "defence of the fatherland" in the meaning implied by those aims, and in that meaning alone. Today too, should a war of the oppressed nations against the oppressor Great Powers break out in the east of Europe or in the colonies, the socialists' sympathy would be wholly with the oppressed.

The war of today, however, has been engendered by an entirely different historical period, in which the bourgeoisie, from a progressive class, has turned reactionary. With

both groups of belligerents, this war is a war of slaveholders, and is designed to preserve and extend slavery; it is a war for the repartitioning of colonies, for the "right" to oppress other nations, for privileges and monopolies for Great-Power capital, and for the perpetuation of wage slavery by splitting up the workers of the different countries and crushing them through reaction. That is why, on the part of both warring groups, all talk about "defence of the fatherland" is deception of the people by the bourgeoisie. Neither the victory of any one group nor a return to the *status quo* can do anything either to protect the freedom of most countries in the world from imperialist oppression by a handful of Great Powers, or to ensure that the working class keep even its present modest cultural gains. The period of a relatively peaceful capitalism has passed, never to return. Imperialism has brought the working class unparalleled intensification of the class struggle, want, and unemployment, a higher cost of living, and the strengthening of oppression by the trusts, of militarism, and the political reactionaries, who are raising their heads in all countries, even the freest.

In reality, the "defence of the fatherland" slogan in the present war is tantamount to a defence of the "right" of one's "own" national bourgeoisie to oppress other nations; it is in fact a national liberal-labour policy, an alliance between a negligible section of the workers and their "own" national bourgeoisie, against the mass of the proletarians and the exploited. Socialists who pursue such a policy are in fact chauvinists, social-chauvinists. The policy of voting for war credits, of joining governments, of *Burgfrieden*,* and the like, is a betrayal of socialism. Nurtured by the conditions of the "peaceful", period which has now come to an end, opportunism has now matured to a degree that calls for a break with socialism; it has become an open enemy to the proletariat's movement for liberation. The working class cannot achieve its historic aims without waging a most resolute struggle against both forthright opportunism and social-chauvinism (the majorities in the Social-Demo-

* A class truce.—*Ed.*

cratic parties of France, Germany and Austria; Hyndman, the Fabians and the trade unionists in Britain; Rubanovich, Plekhanov and *Nasha Zarya* in Russia, etc.) and the so-called Centre, which has surrendered the Marxist stand to the chauvinists.

Unanimously adopted by socialists of the entire world in anticipation of that very kind of war among the Great Powers which has now broken out, the Basle Manifesto of 1912 distinctly recognised the imperialist and reactionary nature of that war, declared it criminal for workers of one country to shoot at workers of another country, and proclaimed the approach of the *proletarian revolution* in connection with that very war. Indeed, the war is creating a revolutionary situation, is engendering revolutionary sentiments and unrest in the masses, is arousing in the finer part of the proletariat a realisation of the perniciousness of opportunism, and is intensifying the struggle against it. The masses' growing desire for peace expresses their disappointment, the defeat of the bourgeois lie regarding the defence of the fatherland, and the awakening of their revolutionary consciousness. In utilising that temper for their revolutionary agitation, and not shying away in that agitation from considerations of the defeat of their "own" country, the socialists will not deceive the people with the hope that, without the revolutionary overthrow of the present-day governments, a possibility exists of a speedy democratic peace, which will be durable in some degree and will preclude any oppression of nations, a possibility of disarmament, etc. Only the social revolution of the proletariat opens the way towards peace and freedom for the nations.

The imperialist war is ushering in the era of the social revolution. All the objective conditions of recent times have put the proletariat's revolutionary mass struggle on the order of the day. It is the duty of socialists, while making use of every means of the working class's legal struggle, to subordinate each and every of those means to this immediate and most important task, develop the workers' revolutionary consciousness, rally them in the international revolutionary struggle, promote and encourage any revolutionary action, and do everything possible to

turn the imperialist war between the peoples into a civil war of the oppressed classes against their oppressors, a war for the expropriation of the class of capitalists, for the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and the realisation of socialism.

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Published according to the manuscript

THE VOICE OF AN HONEST FRENCH SOCIALIST

In French-speaking Switzerland, where Francophile chauvinism is raging with only a little less intensity than in France, the voice of an honest socialist has been heard. In our despicable times this is quite an event. We must pay all the more attention to this voice because in this instance we have here to do with a socialist of typically French (or rather Romance, because the Italians, for instance, are the same) temperament and frame of mind.

We are referring to a little pamphlet by Paul Golay, the editor of a minor socialist paper published in Lausanne. It was in that city that on March 11, 1915, the author delivered a lecture on the subject: "The Socialism That Is Dying and the Socialism That Must Be Reborn", the contents of which he later published separately.*

"On August 1, 1914, war broke out. During the weeks preceding this now famous date, and after it, millions of people were waiting." That is how the author begins. Millions of people were waiting, he says, to see whether the resolutions and the declarations of the leaders of socialism would not lead "to a mighty uprising, whose whirlwind would sweep away the criminal governments". However, the expectations of millions were thwarted. "We attempted," says Golay, "in a comradely fashion" to exonerate the socialists by referring to the "lightning suddenness of the war", and to the lack of information, but these excuses did not satisfy us. "We felt ill at ease, as if our conscience were steeped in the filthy waters of equivocation and lies." From

* Paul Golay, *Le socialisme qui meurt et le socialisme qui doit renaître*, Lausanne, 1915, 22 pages, 15 centimes. En vente à l'Administration du "Grutleen", Maison du Peuple, Lausanne.

this the reader will have concluded that Golay is sincere, a quality almost extraordinary in our times.

Golay recalls the "revolutionary traditions" of the proletariat. Perfectly aware of the fact that "for each situation fitting action is required", he reminds us that "for exceptional situations exceptional measures are necessary. *Aux grands maux les grands remèdes*".* He recalls "congress decisions" "addressed directly to the masses and urging them to start revolutionary and insurrectionary action". There come excerpts from the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions. The author emphasises that "these various resolutions do not contain any argument as to a defensive or offensive war; consequently they do not propose any special nationalist tactics to supersede the generally accepted fundamental principles".

After reading this, the reader sees that Golay is not only a sincere socialist, but also an honest, convinced socialist, a quality quite exceptional among leaders of the Second International!

"The proletariat was congratulated by military commanders, and the bourgeois press warmly praised the resurrection of what it called 'the soul of the nation'. This resurrection has cost us three million corpses.

"And yet never has a workers' organisation had such a large number of dues-paying members, never has there been such an abundance of parliamentarians, such a splendidly organised press. And never has there been a more hideous cause against which one should have risen up.

"In the circumstances so tragic, when the lives of millions are at stake, all revolutionary actions are not only permissible, but legitimate. They are more than legitimate—they are sacred. The imperative duty of the proletariat demanded an attempt to achieve the impossible so as to save our generation from events which are turning Europe into a shambles.

"There have been no energetic steps, no attempts at a revolt, nothing leading to an uprising....

"Our opponents cry out about the collapse of socialism. They are too hasty. Still, who will dare assert that they are wrong in all respects? What is dying at this hour is not socialism in general, but a brand of socialism, a saccharine socialism without the spirit of idealism and without passion, with the manners of a governmental office-holder, and with the paunch of a respectable *paterfamilias*; a socialism without audacity or frenzy, a devotee of statistics, up to its neck in amicable agreements with capitalism; a socialism preoccupied only with

* Great evils call for strong remedies.—*Ed.*

reforms, a socialism that has sold its birthright for a mess of pottage; a socialism that controls people's impatience in order to aid the bourgeoisie—a sort of automatic brake on audacious proletarian action.

"This socialism, which threatens to contaminate the entire International, is in certain measure responsible for the impotence we are reproached with."

Elsewhere in the pamphlet Golay is outspoken about "reformist socialism" and "opportunism" as a distortion of socialism.

In referring to that distortion, recognising the "general responsibility" of the proletariat of *all* the belligerent countries, and emphasising that "this responsibility falls on the heads of the leaders whom the masses trusted and from whom they expected a slogan", Golay correctly takes as an example German socialism, which was "the best organised, best formed, the most indoctrinated", to show "its numerical strength and its revolutionary feebleness".

"Inspired with revolutionary fervour, German Social-Democracy could have confronted militarist undertakings with a resistance sufficiently definite and stubborn to make the proletariat of the other countries of central Europe follow it on this, the only road to salvation....

"German socialism enjoyed great influence in the International. It could have done more than all other parties. The greatest effort was expected of it. But numbers are nothing if individual energy is paralysed by too rigorous discipline and if the 'leaders' utilise ... their influence to achieve the least effort. [Much as the second part of the sentence is correct, the first is wrong: discipline is a splendid and necessary thing, for instance, the discipline of a party that expels opportunists and opponents of revolutionary action.] The German proletariat, owing to its responsible leaders, obeyed the call of the military camarilla ... the other sections of the International took fright and acted likewise; in France, two socialists found it necessary to join a bourgeois government! Thus, several months after the solemn declaration at a congress that socialists considered it a crime to shoot at each other, millions of workers were called to the colours and began to commit that crime with a persistency and a zeal which won them repeated tribute from the capitalist bourgeoisie and governments."

Golay, however, does not confine himself to mercilessly branding "the socialism that is dying". He also manifests a full understanding of the cause of that dying, and the kind of socialism that should supersede the dying one. "The working masses in every country," he writes, "submit

in some measure to the influence of ideas current in bourgeois circles." "When, under the name of revisionism, Bernstein formulated a kind of democratic reformism," he writes, "Kautsky shattered him with the aid of relevant facts." "But when appearances had been preserved, the party nevertheless continued its *Realpolitik*. The Social-Democratic Party became what it is today. An excellent organisation. A powerful body, from which the soul has gone." Not only German Social-Democracy, but all sections of the International reveal the same tendencies. "The growing number of officials" leads to certain consequences; attention is focussed only on the regular payment of membership dues; strikes are looked upon as "manifestations aiming at securing better conditions of agreement" with the capitalists. It becomes customary to link the interests of the workers with those of the capitalists; "to subordinate the fate of the workers to that of capitalism itself", "to wish an intensive development of one's 'own' 'national' industry to the detriment of foreign industry".

In one of his articles, R. Schmiedt, a Reichstag deputy, says that regulation of working conditions by the trade unions is also advantageous to the capitalists, since it "introduces order and stability in economic life" and since it "makes the capitalists' calculations easier, and counteracts unfair competition".

In quoting these words, Golay exclaims:

"It appears that the trade union movement must consider it an honour to make the capitalist profits more stable! It is apparently the aim of socialism to demand, within the framework of capitalist society, the maximum of advantages compatible with the existence of the capitalist system itself. In that case, we have here a renunciation of all principles. The proletariat strives, not to consolidate the capitalist regime, not to obtain minimal conditions for hired labour, but to eliminate the system of private property and to destroy the system of hired labour....

"The secretaries of large organisations become important personages. In the political movement, deputies, men of letters, scientists, lawyers, all those who, together with their science, bring with themselves certain personal ambitions, wield an influence which is at times dangerous.

"The powerful organisation of the trade unions and their substantial treasuries have developed a corporative spirit among their members. One of the negative aspects of the trade union movement, which is reformist in essence, is that the condition of various categories of

wage workers is improved by placing one above the other. This destroys their fundamental unity and creates among the most favoured an apprehension which compels them sometimes to fear a 'movement' that might undermine their condition, their treasury and their balance sheet. Thus a certain division between the various categories of the proletariat comes into existence, categories artificially created by the trade union movement itself."

This, of course, is no argument against strong organisations, says the author, obviously to counter arguments from a certain kind of "critic". This, he says, only proves that organisations must have a "soul", must have "enthusiasm".

"What are the chief characteristics that must distinguish the socialism of tomorrow? It will be international, intransigent, and rebellious."

"Intransigence is a force," Golay says with good reason, inviting the reader to cast a glance at the "history of doctrines". "When did they exercise an influence? When they were tamed by the authorities, or when they remained intransigent? When did Christianity lose its value? Was it not on the day Constantine promised it revenues and offered it, not persecution and executions but the gold-braided vestment of Court servants?...

"A French philosopher has said: 'Dead ideas are those that appear in elegant garments, with no asperity or daring. They are dead because they are put into general circulation and become part of the ordinary intellectual baggage of the great army of philistines. Strong ideas are those that shock and scandalise, evoke indignation, anger, and animosity in some, and enthusiasm in others.'" The author finds it necessary to call this truth to the minds of present-day socialists, among whom he very often finds an absence of any kind of "ardent convictions": "They believe in nothing," he says, "neither in reforms that are belated, nor in a revolution that has not yet arrived."

Intransigence, a readiness for rebellion, the author says, "lead, not to dreaminess but to action. A socialist will neglect no form of action. He will find new ones according to the demands and the circumstances of the moment.... He demands immediate reforms; he gets them, not by bickering with the opponent, but he takes them by force, as a concession by a bourgeoisie intimidated by the enthusiasm and audacity of the masses."

After the most bare-faced vulgarising of Marxism and degrading of socialism by Plekhanov, Kautsky, and Co., Golay's pamphlet is really refreshing. However, the two following shortcomings must be noted.

First, Golay, in common with most socialists in the Romance countries, not excluding the present-day Guesdists, pays insufficient attention to "doctrine", i.e., to the *theory* of socialism. He has a certain prejudice against Marxism, which can be explained, though not justified, by the present prevalence of the most vicious caricature of Marxism in the writings of Kautsky, in *Die Neue Zeit*, and among the Germans in general. A man like Golay, who has recognised the necessity of the *death* of reformist socialism and the *revival* of a revolutionary, "rebellious" socialism, i.e., one who understands the necessity of an uprising, who advocates it, and is capable of seriously preparing himself and others for it, is *in deed* a thousand times closer to Marxism than those gentlemen who know the "tests" by heart but are now busy (for instance, in *Die Neue Zeit*) justifying social-chauvinism of every kind, including that which says that one must at present "make peace" with the chauvinist *Vorstand* and "forget the past".

Much as Golay's disdain for Marxism is explainable and much as he can be cleared of the blame, which can be placed on the moribund or *dead* trend of the French Marxists (Guesdists), the blame is still there. The world's greatest movement for liberation of the oppressed class, the most revolutionary class in history, is impossible without a revolutionary theory. That theory cannot be thought up. It *grows out* of the sum total of the revolutionary experience and the revolutionary thinking of all countries in the world. Such a theory *has developed* since the second half of the nineteenth century. It is known as Marxism. One cannot be a socialist, a revolutionary Social-Democrat, without participating, in the measure of one's powers, in developing and applying that theory, and without waging a ruthless struggle today against the mutilation of this theory by Plekhanov, Kautsky, and Co.

Inattention to theory has led Golay to make a number of erroneous or hasty attacks against, for instance, centralism or discipline in general, or against "historical mate-

rialism", which, the author alleges, is not sufficiently "idealistic", etc. Hence also a remarkable lack of completeness in the question of slogans. For instance, the demand that socialism should become "rebellious" is full of profound content and is the sole correct thought, without which all talk about internationalism, the revolutionary spirit, and Marxism is sheer stupidity, and, as often as not, hypocrisy. However, this idea, that of civil war, should have been developed, and made the pivot of tactics, whereas Golay confines himself to *stating* it. This is a lot for our days, but it is insufficient from the standpoint of the demands of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. For instance, Golay's treatment of the problem of revolution as a reply to war is, if one may put it so, far too narrow. He fails to consider the fact that, though a revolutionary *reply* to the war has not been given, yet, the war itself has begun to teach, and is teaching, the masses the lesson of revolution, by creating a revolutionary situation and by expanding and deepening it.

Golay's second shortcoming is best illustrated by the following argument in his pamphlet:

> "We blame nobody. To be reborn, the International needs a fraternal spirit to animate the various sections; but it is permissible to affirm that, in the sight of the great task placed before it by the capitalist bourgeoisie in July and August 1914, reformist, centralist[?] and hierarchical socialism cut a poor figure."

"We blame nobody...." This is where you are mistaken, Comrade Golay! You yourself have admitted that "the socialism that is dying" is tied up to bourgeois ideas (which means that it is nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie), to a certain ideological current in socialism ("reformism"), to the interests and the specific position of certain strata (parliamentarians, officials, intellectuals, some of the better-off sections or groups of workers), etc. From this follows an *inevitable* conclusion, which you fail to draw. Individuals "die" what is called a natural death; *ideological and political* trends, however, *cannot die in that way*. Just as the bourgeoisie will not die until it is overthrown, a trend nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie, and expressing the interests of a small group of intellectuals and members of the labour aristocracy that have joined hands

with the bourgeoisie, will not die unless it is "killed", i.e., overthrown, deprived of *all* influence on the socialist proletariat. This trend is strong in its links with the bourgeoisie. Because of the objective conditions of the "peaceful" period of 1871-1914, it has become a kind of commanding, parasitic *stratum* in the working-class movement.

In such conditions, it is our duty, not only to "blame", but to ring the tocsin, ruthlessly unmask, overthrow, and oust this parasitic stratum from their posts, and destroy *their* "unity" with the working-class movement, because such "unity" means, in practice, unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a *split* in the international proletariat, the unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionaries.

"Intransigence is a force," Golay says with justice; he demands that "the socialism that must be reborn" should be intransigent. But is it not all the same to the bourgeoisie whether the proletariat practises reconciliation with it *directly*, or *indirectly* through bourgeois adherents, defenders, and agents *within* the working-class movement, i.e., through the opportunists? The latter is even *more advantageous* to the bourgeoisie, because it secures for it a stronger influence over the workers.

Golay is a thousand times right when he says that there is a socialism that is dying and a socialism that must be reborn; this death and this rebirth, however, comprise a ruthless struggle against the trend of opportunism—not merely an ideological struggle, but the removal of that hideous excrescence from the body of the working-class parties, the expulsion from those organisations of certain representatives of this tactic, which is alien to the proletariat, a definite break with them. They will die neither physically nor politically, but the workers will break with them, will throw them into the cesspool of the servitors of the bourgeoisie. The example of their corruption will educate a new generation, or, more correctly, new proletarian armies capable of an uprising.

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Signed: *N. Lenin*

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IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM IN ITALY

NOTE

To clarify the problems presented to socialism as a result of the present imperialist war, it is useful to cast a glance at the various European countries, so as to learn to distinguish between national modifications and details of the general picture, and the fundamental and essential. Distance lends clarity to the view. The less the resemblance between Italy and Russia, the more interesting it is, in certain respects, to compare imperialism and socialism in the two countries.

In the present note, we intend only to call attention to material on this problem, as provided by a bourgeois professor, Roberto Michels, in his book *Italian Imperialism*, and by a socialist, T. Barboni, in a book entitled *Internationalism or Class Nationalism?* (*The Italian Proletariat and the European War*),* both of which have been published since the outbreak of the war. The garrulous Michels, who is just as superficial as he is in his other writings, hardly touches upon the economic aspect of imperialism. His book, however, contains a collection of valuable material on the origin of Italian imperialism and on the transition that comprises the essence of the times and is so manifest in Italy, namely, the transition from a period of wars for national liberation to a period of imperialist and reactionary wars of plunder. Revolutionary-democratic Italy, i.e., revolutionary-bourgeois Italy, the Italy that

* Roberto Michels, *L'imperialismo italiano*, Milano, 1914; T. Barboni, *Internazionalismo o nazionalismo di classes?* (*Il proletariato d'Italia e la guerra europea*). Edito dall'autore a Campione d'Intelvi (provincia di Como), 1915.

cast off the yoke of Austria, the Italy of the times of Garibaldi, is changing before our very eyes into an Italy that is oppressing other peoples and plundering Turkey and Austria, an Italy of a crude, repulsively reactionary and rapacious bourgeoisie whose mouth waters at the prospect of a share in the loot. Like any respectable professor, Michels, of course, considers that his servility to the bourgeoisie is "scientific objectivism"; he calls this sharing of the loot "partitioning of that part of the world which still remains in the hands of debilitated peoples" (p. 179). Disdainfully rejecting as "Utopian" the viewpoint of socialists hostile towards colonial policies of any kind, Michels repeats the arguments of those who think that Italy, judging by the density of her population and the intensity of emigration from that country, "should have been the second colonial power", second only to Britain. Michels repudiates by a reference to Britain the argument that forty per cent of the Italian people are illiterate, and that even today cholera riots, etc., take place there. Was not Britain, he asks, a country of unparalleled poverty, humiliation, famine among the working masses, and widespread drunkenness, misery, and squalor in the city slums, in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the British bourgeoisie were so successfully laying the foundations of their present colonial power?

It must be admitted that, from the bourgeois standpoint, this argument is unassailable. Colonial policies and imperialism are not unsound but curable disorders of capitalism (the way philistines think, together with Kautsky); they are an inevitable consequence of the very foundations of capitalism. Competition among individual enterprises inevitably leads either to their becoming ruined or ruining others; competition between individual countries confronts each of them with the alternative of falling behind, ever running the risk of becoming a second Belgium, or else ruining and conquering other countries, thus elbowing their way to a place among the "Great" Powers.

Italian imperialism has been called "poor people's imperialism" (*l'imperialismo della povera gente*), because of the country's poverty and the utter destitution of the masses of Italian emigrants. Arturo Labriola, the Italian chauvinist,

who differs from his former opponent, G. Plekhanov, only in that he somewhat sooner revealed his social-chauvinism, which he reached *via* petty-bourgeois semi-anarchism, not petty-bourgeois opportunism, wrote in his booklet on the Tripolitanian war (1912):

"It is obvious that we are fighting, not only against the Turks ... but also against the intrigues, the intimidations, the money, and the armies of plutocratic Europe, which cannot tolerate that small nations should dare to make a single gesture or to say a single word that will compromise its iron hegemony" (p. 92). Corradini, leader of the Italian nationalists, declared at the same time: "Just as socialism was a method of freeing the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, nationalism will be for us Italians a method of freeing ourselves from the French, the Germans, the British, the North and South Americans, who are our bourgeoisie.

Any country which has more colonies, capital and armies than "we" have, deprives "us" of certain privileges, certain profits or super-profits. Just as among individual capitalists super-profits go to the one whose machinery is superior to the average or who owns certain monopolies, so among nations the one that is economically better off than the others gets super-profits. It is the business of the bourgeoisie to fight for privileges and advantages for its national capital, and to fool the nation or the common folk (with the aid of Labriola and Plekhanov) by passing off for a war of national liberation the imperialist struggle for the "right" to plunder others.

Prior to the Tripolitanian war, Italy did not plunder other nations, at least to no large extent. Is this not an intolerable slight to the national pride? The Italians are oppressed and humiliated as compared with other nations. Italian emigration was 100,000 annually in the seventies of the last century; it now stands at between 500,000 and 1,000,000. All these people are paupers, driven from their country by starvation in the literal sense of the word. All of them provide labour power for the worst paid branches of industry; this mass inhabit the most crowded, poverty-stricken, and squalid sections of the American and European cities. From 1,000,000 in 1881, the number of Italians abroad rose to 5,500,000 in 1910, the vast majority

of this mass living in the rich and "great" countries, for whom the Italians are the crudest, most unskilled, poor and defenceless labouring mass. Here are the main countries using cheap Italian labour: France—400,000 Italians in 1910 (240,000 in 1881); Switzerland—135,000 (41,000 in 1881); Austria—80,000 (40,000); Germany—180,000 (7,000); the United States of America— 1,779,000 (170,000); Brazil—1,500,000 (82,000); Argentina— 1,000,000 (254 000). "Glorious" France, which 125 years ago fought for freedom, and therefore calls its present war for her own and the British slave-holders' "colonial rights" a war of liberation, houses hundreds of thousands of Italian workers in areas that are virtually ghettos. The petty-bourgeois *canaille* of this "great" nation do all they can to keep these people at a distance, and, insult and humiliate them in every possible way. The Italians are contemptuously dubbed "Macaroni" (the Great-Russian reader should recall how many contemptuous nicknames are current in our country for non-Russians whose birth does not entitle them to the noble dominant-nation privileges that serve the Purishkeviches as a means of oppressing *both* the Great-Russian *and* the other peoples of Russia). In 1896 France, that great nation, concluded a treaty with Italy, by which the latter undertook not to increase the number of Italian schools in Tunisia! Since then the Italian population of Tunisia has increased sixfold. There are 105,000 Italians in Tunisia, as against 35,000 Frenchmen, but there are only 1,167 holders of land among the former, with an aggregate of 83,000 hectares, whereas the latter include 2,395 landowners who have grabbed 700,000 hectares in that colony. How can one fail to agree with Labriola and other Italian "Plekhanovites" that Italy is "entitled" to possess its colony in Tripoli, oppress Slavs in Dalmatia, carve up Asia Minor, etc.?*

* It is highly instructive to note the connection between Italy's transformation into an imperialist country and the government's agreeing to electoral reform. The latter increased the number of voters from 3,219,000 to 8,562,000, in other words, it introduced "almost" universal suffrage. Prior to the Tripolitanian war, Giolitti, who carried out the reform, was bitterly opposed to it. "The motivation of the change of line by the government" and the moderate

Just as Plekhanov supports the Russian war of "liberation" against the German striving to turn Russia into a colony, Bissolati, leader of the Reformist Party, has raised an outcry against the "invasion of Italy by foreign capital" (p. 97), namely, German capital in Lombardy, British in Sicily, French in Piacentino, Belgian in the street-car enterprises, etc., etc., etc.

The question has been squarely put and one must acknowledge that the European war has done humanity enormous good by actually confronting hundreds of millions of people of various nationalities with an alternative: *either* defend, with rifle or pen, directly or indirectly, in any form whatever, the dominant-nation and national privileges in general, as well as the prerogative or the claims of one's "own" bourgeoisie, that is to say, be its adherent or lackey; *or* else utilise any struggle, particularly the clash of arms for dominant-nation privileges, so as to unmask and overthrow every government, in the first place *one*'s own, by means of the revolutionary action of an internationally united proletariat. There is no middle road; in other words, the attempt to take a middle stand means, in effect, covertly taking the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Barboni's booklet is, in substance, entirely devoted to covering up this latter act. Barboni poses as an internationalist exactly as our Mr. Potresov does; he argues that,

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parties, says Michels, "was essentially patriotic. Notwithstanding their long-standing theoretical aversion from a colonial policy, the industrial workers, and more so the lower strata, fought against the Turks with perfect discipline and obedience, contrary to all expectations. Such slavish behaviour towards the government's policy merited a reward to induce the proletariat to persevere along this new road. The President of the Council of Ministers declared in Parliament that, by his patriotic behaviour on the battlefield of Libya, the Italian worker had proved to the country that he had reached the highest stage of political maturity. He who is capable of sacrificing his life for a noble cause is also capable of defending the interests of the country as a voter, and he therefore has a right that the state should consider him worthy of full political rights" (p. 177). The Italian Ministers are good talkers! Still better are the German "radical" Social-Democrats who are repeating the following servile argument: "We have done 'our' duty by helping 'you' to loot foreign countries, but 'you' do not wish to give 'us' universal suffrage in Prussia...."

from the internationalist point of view, it is necessary to ascertain the success of which side will be more useful or harmless to the proletariat, and, of course, he has decided this question against ... Austria and Germany. In a perfectly Kautskyist spirit, Barboni proposes to the Italian Socialist Party solemnly to proclaim the solidarity of the workers of all countries—in the first place, of course, of the belligerent countries—to proclaim internationalist convictions, a programme of peace on the basis of disarmament and national independence of all nations, including the formation of a "league of all nations for a reciprocal guarantee of their integrity and independence" (p. 126). It is in the name of these principles that Barboni declares that militarism is a "parasitic" phenomenon in capitalism, something "not at all necessary"; that Germany and Austria are imbued with "militarist imperialism"; that their aggressive policies have been a "standing threat to European peace"; that Germany has "constantly rejected the proposals for a restriction of armaments advanced by Russia [sic!] and Britain", etc., etc., and that the Socialist Party of Italy should declare itself in favour of Italy's intervention on the side of the Triple Entente at the opportune moment.

What remains unknown is the principles that make the bourgeois imperialism of Britain preferable to that of Germany. Germany's economic development in the twentieth century has been more rapid than that of the other European countries; in the partition of colonies, she was badly "wronged". Britain, on the other hand, has developed far more slowly; she has grabbed a host of colonies, where, far from Europe, she often uses methods of oppression no less brutal than the Germans. With her great wealth, she hires millions of soldiers of various continental powers to plunder Austria, Turkey, etc. In essence, Barboni's internationalism, like that of Kautsky, is nothing but a verbal defence of socialist principles, behind which hypocritical cover his own bourgeoisie, the Italian, is actually defended. One cannot fail to notice that Barboni, who has published his book in free Switzerland (where the censor deleted only half a line on p. 75, evidently criticising Austria), has not deemed it necessary, in its 143 pages, to mention the main principles of the Basle Manifesto, or conscientiously to analyse them.

On the other hand, our Barboni quotes with deep sympathy two former Russian revolutionaries who are now being publicised by the entire Francophile bourgeoisie: the petty-bourgeois anarchist Kropotkin, and the Social-Democratic philistine Plekhanov (p. 103). No wonder! Plekhanov's sophisms do not differ in substance from Barboni's. In Italy, however, political freedom more easily tears the veil from such sophisms, revealing more clearly Barboni's actual stand as an agent of the bourgeoisie in the workers' camp.

Barboni regrets the "absence of a real and actual revolutionary spirit" within German Social-Democracy (exactly in Plekhanov's way); he warmly greets Karl Liebknecht (just as he is greeted by the *French* social-chauvinists, who do not see the beam in their own eye), but he decidedly declares that "we cannot speak of the bankruptcy of the International" (p. 92), that the Germans "did not betray the spirit of the International" (p. 111), inasmuch as they were prompted by a "*bona fide*" conviction that they were defending the fatherland. In Kautsky's sanctimonious vein, but with an admixture of Romance eloquence, Barboni declares that the International is prepared (after a victory over Germany) to "forgive the Germans as Christ forgave Peter a moment of distrust, to heal by oblivion the deep wounds inflicted by a militarist imperialism, and to extend a hand for an honourable and brotherly peace" (p. 113).

A moving scene: Barboni and Kautsky—probably with aid from our Kosovsky and Axelrod—forgiving each other!

While quite pleased with Kautsky and Guesde, with Plekhanov and Kropotkin, Barboni is displeased with his own Socialist Labour Party in Italy. He complains that in this party, which before the war was fortunate enough to rid itself of the reformists Bissolati and Co., an atmosphere has been created which "cannot be breathed" (p. 7) by those who, like Barboni, do not agree to the slogan of "absolute neutrality" (i.e., to a determined struggle against those who stand for Italy joining the war). Poor Barboni complains bitterly that in the Italian Socialist Labour Party men like him are labelled "intellectuals", "individuals who have lost contact with the masses", "people hailing

from the bourgeoisie", who have "strayed from the straight path of socialism and internationalism" (p. 7). "Our party," says Barboni indignantly, "fanaticises more than it educates the multitude" (p. 4).

An old song! It is the Italian variation of the well-known theme of Russian liquidators and opportunists, decrying the "demagogy" of the wicked Bolsheviks who "incite" the masses against the dear socialists of *Nasha Zarya*, the Organising Committee, and Chkheidze's Duma group! But what an invaluable admission this is by an Italian social-chauvinist: in the only country where, for several months, the platforms of the social-chauvinists and of the revolutionary internationalists could be freely discussed, the *working masses*, the *class-conscious proletariat*, have sided with the latter, whereas the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and opportunists have lined up with the former.

Neutrality is a narrow-minded egoism, a non-understanding of the international situation; it is baseness towards Belgium, and "absenteeism", and "the absent are always wrong", says Barboni, entirely in the spirit of Plekhanov and Axelrod. But since there are two legal parties in Italy, one reformist and the other a Social-Democratic labour party, and since in that country it is impossible to fool the public by covering up the nudity of the Potresovs, Cherevanins, Levitskys and Co. with the fig-leaf of Chkheidze's Duma group or of the Organising Committee, Barboni frankly admits the following:

"From this point of view I see more revolutionism in the activities of the reformist socialists, who have been quick to realise the enormous importance that such a change in the political situation [in consequence of a victory over German militarism] will have for the future anti-capitalist struggle, and who, with perfect consistency, have espoused the cause of the Triple Entente, than there is in the tactics of the official revolutionary socialists who, like a tortoise, have hidden under a shell of absolute neutrality" (p. 81).

In connection with this valuable admission, it remains for us only to express the wish that some comrade familiar with the Italian movement should collect and systematically analyse the vast and most interesting material furnished by Italy's *two parties*, as to which social strata and which

elements, with whose aid, and with which arguments, have defended the revolutionary policy of the Italian proletariat on the one hand, and servility to the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie on the other. The more such material is gathered in various countries, the more clearly will the class-conscious workers see the *truth* as to the causes and significance of the Second International's collapse.

In conclusion, we would like to note that, confronted by a workers' party, Barboni attempts to use sophistry so as to play up to the workers' *revolutionary* instincts. The internationalist socialists of Italy, who are opposed to a war which *in fact* is being waged for the imperialist interests of the Italian bourgeoisie, are depicted by him as adherents of a cowardly abstinence, a selfish desire to hide from the horrors of war. "A people educated in a fear of the horrors of war," he says, "will probably also be afraid of the horrors of a revolution" (p. 83). Together with this disgusting attempt to assume the guise of a revolutionary, we find a crudely practical reference to the "clear" words of Minister Salandra, who said that "order will be maintained at any cost", and that attempts to hold a general strike directed against mobilisation will only lead to "useless carnage". "We could not prevent the Libyan [Tripolitanian] war; less so will we be able to prevent the war against Austria" (p. 82).

Like Kautsky, Cunow and all the other opportunists, Barboni, with the basest intention of fooling a definite section of the masses, deliberately ascribes to the revolutionaries the silly plan to "frustrate the war" "immediately" and to allow themselves to be shot down at a moment most opportune for the bourgeoisie. He thus attempts to evade the task clearly formulated at Stuttgart and Basle, namely, to utilise the revolutionary crisis for systematic revolutionary propaganda and preparations for revolutionary mass action. Barboni sees quite clearly that Europe is living through a revolutionary moment.

"There is one point on which I deem it necessary to insist, even at the risk of becoming irksome to the reader, because without a clear idea of that point one cannot correctly estimate the present political situation. The point is that the period we are living through is a catastrophic

one, a period of action, when there is no longer any question of propounding ideas, formulating programmes, or defining a line of political behaviour for the future, but of applying a live and active force to achieve results within months, possibly within weeks. Under such conditions, it is no longer a question of philosophising over the future of the proletarian movement, but of consolidating the point of view of the proletariat, in face of the present situation" (pp. 87-88).

Another sophism under the guise of revolutionism! Forty-four years after the Paris Commune, after half a century of the mustering and preparation of mass forces, the revolutionary class of Europe must, at the present moment, when Europe is passing through a *catastrophic* period, think of how to quickly become the lackey of its national bourgeoisie, how to help it plunder, violate, ruin, and conquer other peoples, and how to refrain from launching, on a mass scale, direct revolutionary propaganda and preparation for revolutionary action.

Kommunist No. 1-2, 1915
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Published according to
the text in the journal *Kommunist*

APPEAL ON THE WAR

Worker Comrades:

The European war has been in progress for over a year. All things considered, it will last for a long time, because, while Germany is best prepared and at present the strongest, the Quadruple Entente (Russia, Britain, France, and Italy) has more men and money, and besides, freely gets war material from the United States of America, the world's richest country.

What is this war being fought for, which is bringing mankind unparalleled suffering? The government and the bourgeoisie of each belligerent country are squandering millions of rubles on books and newspapers so as to lay the blame on the foe, arouse the people's furious hatred of the enemy, and stop at no lie so as to depict themselves as the side that has been unjustly attacked and is now "defending" itself. In reality, this is a war between two groups of predatory Great Powers, and it is being fought for the partitioning of colonies, the enslavement of other nations, and advantages and privileges of the world market. This is a most reactionary war, a war of modern slave-holders aimed at preserving and consolidating capitalist slavery. Britain and France are lying when they assert that they are warring for Belgium's freedom. In reality, they have long been preparing the war, and are waging it with the purpose of robbing Germany and stripping her of her colonies; they have signed a treaty with Italy and Russia on the pillage and carving up of Turkey and Austria. The tsarist monarchy in Russia is waging a predatory war aimed at seizing Galicia, taking territory away from Turkey, enslaving Persia, Mongolia, etc. Germany is waging war with the purpose of grabbing British, Belgian, and French

colonies. Whether Germany or Russia wins, or whether there is a "draw", the war will bring humanity fresh oppression of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the colonies, in Persia, Turkey and China, a fresh enslavement of nations, and new chains for the working class of all countries.

What are the tasks of the working class with regard to this war? The answer to this question is provided in a resolution unanimously adopted by the socialists of the whole world, at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912. This resolution was adopted in anticipation of a war of the very kind as started in 1914. This resolution says that the war is reactionary, that it is being prepared in the interests of "capitalist profits", that the workers consider it "a crime to shoot each other down", that the war will lead to "a proletarian revolution", that an example for the workers' tactics was set by the Paris Commune of 1871, and by October-December 1905, in Russia, i.e., by a revolution.

All class-conscious workers in Russia are on the side of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma whose members (Petrovsky, Badayev, Muranov, Samoilov and Shagov) have been exiled by the tsar to Siberia for revolutionary propaganda against the war and against the government. It is only in such revolutionary propaganda and in revolutionary activities leading to a revolt of the masses, that the salvation of humanity from the horrors of the present and the future wars lies. Only the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois governments, in the first place of the most reactionary, brutal, and barbarous tsarist government, will open the road to socialism and peace among nations.

The conscious or unwitting servants of the bourgeoisie are lying when they wish to persuade the people that the revolutionary overthrow of the tsarist monarchy can lead only to victories for and consolidation of the German reactionary monarchy and the German bourgeoisie. Although the leaders of the German socialists, like many leading socialists in Russia, have gone over to the side of their "own" bourgeoisie and are helping to deceive the people with fables of a war of "defence", there is mounting among the working masses of Germany an ever stronger protest

and indignation against their government. The German socialists who have not gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie have declared in the press that they consider the tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma "heroic". In Germany, calls against the war and against the government are being published illegally. Tens and hundreds of the finest socialists of Germany, including Clara Zetkin, the well-known representative of the women's labour movement, have been thrown into prison by the German Government for propaganda in a revolutionary spirit. In all the belligerent countries without exception, indignation is mounting in the working masses, and the example of revolutionary activities set by the Social-Democrats of Russia, and even more so any success of the revolution in Russia, will not fail to advance the great cause of socialism, of the victory of the proletariat over the blood-stained bourgeois exploiters.

The war is filling the pockets of the capitalists, into whose pockets gold is pouring from the treasuries of the Great Powers. The war is provoking a blind bitterness against the enemy, the bourgeoisie doing its best to direct the indignation of the people into such channels, to divert their attention from the *chief* enemy—the government and the ruling classes of their *own* country. However, the war which brings in its train endless misery and suffering for the toiling masses, enlightens and steels the finest representatives of the working class. If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the socialist revolution, and not for the interests of the capitalists, the landowners, and tsars—this is what every class-conscious worker sees and feels. Revolutionary Social-Democratic work may be difficult at present, but it is possible. It is advancing throughout the world, and in this alone lies salvation.

Down with the tsarist monarchy, which has drawn Russia into a criminal war, and which oppresses the peoples! Long live the world brotherhood of the workers, and the international revolution of the proletariat!

Written in August 1915

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Published according to the manuscript

WE ARE THANKFUL FOR SUCH FRANKNESS

"The inane idea of the necessity of forming an International of 'internationalist Social-Democrats' ... [of] opposition elements picked at random from all the socialist parties.... The International can be restored only from the same elements it has consisted of till now.... A restored International will not be the 'third' in succession, as is desired by a handful of sectarians and experts in the business of arranging splits, but the selfsame Second International, which has not died, but has been temporarily paralysed by a world disaster...."

This is what Mr. V. Kosovsky writes in issue No. 8 of the Bund's *Information Bulletin*. We are deeply thankful for the frankness shown by this Bundist, who is not the brightest of the lot. This is not the first time he has defended opportunism with an outspokenness that must be displeasing to the Bund's diplomatists. This time again, he will be helping the struggle against opportunism, by revealing to the workers how hopelessly far the Bund stands from proletarian socialism. Mr. V. Kosovsky does not see the link between opportunism and social-chauvinism. To discern that link, one must be able to ask oneself the following questions: what are the fundamental ideas in the two currents? How has opportunism developed in Europe during the last few decades? What is the attitude towards social-chauvinism revealed by the opportunist and the revolutionary wing in a number of European countries, as, for instance, in Russia, Germany, Belgium, France, Britain, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, and Bulgaria?

Has Mr. V. Kosovsky given thought to this? If he attempted to reply to at least the first question, he would soon see his mistake.

Incidentally, in issue No. 7 of the *Information Bulletin* Mr. V. Kosovsky has displayed a Germanophile chauvinism, for, while accusing the French Social-Democrats, he defends the German Social-Democrats' voting for war credits. A certain W. (writing in issue No. 8, pp. 11-12) defends Mr. V. Kosovsky against the accusation of chauvinism, asserting that there can be no Germanophile chauvinism in an organisation that operates in Russia. Perhaps Mr. V. Kosovsky will explain to Mr. W. why it is that a Ukrainian or a Polish bourgeois in Russia, a Danish or an Alsatian bourgeois in France, or an Irish bourgeois in Britain often reveals a chauvinism hostile to the nations that oppress them.

Written in the summer of 1915

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in *Lenin Miscellany XVII*

Published according to
the manuscript

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE (I.S.C.)

Dear Comrades:

We have received your letter of September 25, and hereby express our full sympathy with the plan to set up a permanent international "enlarged committee" (*erweiterte Kommission*) in Berne. In the confidence that the idea of such a plan is shared by the other organisations adhering to the I.S.C., we appoint Comrade Zinoviev member of that enlarged committee from the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., and, as his assistants or candidates (*suppléant*, *Stellvertreter*) (1) Comrade Petrova[156] and (2) Comrade Lenin. The address for communications is: *Herrn Radomislsky* (*bei Frau Aschwanden*). *Hertenstein* (*Ks. Luzern*). *Schweiz*.*

To continue. As for the other questions raised in your letter of September 25 we, for our part, hold the following opinion:

1. We are in complete agreement with you that the "common points of view" (*allgemeine Gesichtspunkte*) as established by the Conference of September 5-8 are "insufficient" (*nicht genügen*). A further, far more detailed and specified development of these principles is an imperative necessity. This is necessary from the viewpoint of both principle and common practice, since giving effect to *united action* on an international scale calls for both clarity of fundamental ideological views and a precise definiteness in all practical methods of action. The great crisis that Europe as a whole and the European working-class movement are living

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* Mr. Radomislsky, c/o Mme. Aschwanden, Hertenstein, Lucerne Canton. Switzerland.—*Ed*.

through can indubitably lead to both aspects of the matter being understood by the masses only by degrees, but it is the task of the I.S.C. and the parties adhering to it to help bring about that very understanding. Without waiting for the impossible to happen—the speedy unification of all on a platform of commonly accepted and precisely formulated views—we must strive for a *precise* definition of the *basic currents* and *trends* in present-day internationalist socialism, and then for the working masses to get a knowledge of those currents, discuss them comprehensively, and test them in the experience of their practical movement. In our opinion, the I.S.C. should consider this its principal task.

2. The letter of September 25 defines the proletariat's tasks either as the struggle for peace (should the war continue) or as the "concrete and detailed formulation of the proletariat's international viewpoint towards the various proposals and programmes for peace" (*den internationalen Standpunkt des Proletariats zu den verschiedenen Friedensvorschlägen und Programmen konkret und ins einzelne gehend zu umschreiben*). Special emphasis is placed, in this connection, on the national question (Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Armenia, etc.).

We consider that the two documents unanimously adopted by the Conference of September 5-8, viz., both the manifesto and the resolution of sympathy (*Sympathieerklärung*), give expression to the idea of the connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism ("the struggle for peace ... is a struggle for socialism"—"*dieser Kampf ist der Kampf ... für den Sozialismus*", to quote the manifesto), and the "irreconcilable proletarian class struggle" (*unversöhnlicher proletarischer Klassenkampf*; the text of the resolution voted on by the Conference reads, not the "irreconcilable" class struggle, but the "revolutionary" class struggle. If the change was made for considerations of legality, the meaning should not have been changed thereby). The resolution on sympathy speaks forthright of the Conference's need and "solemn promise" "to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the international proletariat".

Unless it is linked up with the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle for peace is merely a

pacifist phrase of bourgeois who are either sentimental or are deceiving the people.

We cannot and must not strike a pose of "statesmen" and draw up "concrete" programmes of peace. On the contrary, we must explain to the masses the delusiveness of all hopes of a democratic peace (without annexations, violence or plunder), *without* a development of the revolutionary class struggle. In the very beginning of the manifesto we told the masses firmly, clearly and resolutely that imperialism is the cause of war, and that imperialism means the "enslavement" of nations, of all the nations of the world, by a handful of "Great Powers". Consequently, we must help the masses to overthrow imperialism, without the overthrow of which there can be no peace without annexations. Of course, the struggle for the overthrow of imperialism is an arduous one, but the masses must know the *truth* about that arduous but necessary struggle. The masses should not be lulled with the hope that peace is possible without the overthrow of imperialism.

3. Proceeding from these considerations, we propose:

that the following questions be put on the agenda of forthcoming sessions of the enlarged committee (to work out either a summary and publication of theses, or drafts of a resolution), and then on the agenda of the next international conference (for the final adoption of a resolution):

(a) the connection between the struggle for peace and mass revolutionary action or the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat;

(b) the self-determination of nations;

(c) the connection between social-patriotism and opportunism.

We emphasise that the manifesto adopted by the conference specifically *touches upon all* these questions, that they are of vital significance both in principle and in practice, and that *not a single* practical step in the proletarian struggle *is conceivable* without socialists and syndicalists stumbling upon these questions.

Elaboration of these questions is necessary so as to promote the mass struggle for peace, the self-determination of nations, and socialism, and against the "capitalists'

lies" (to quote the manifesto) about "defence of the fatherland" in the present war.

If, as is very correctly pointed out in the letter of September 25, the fault or the misfortune of the Second International lies in the vagueness and the incomplete development of important problems, it is our task to help the masses pose those problems with clarity and resolve them with exactness.

4. Regarding the publication of the bulletin in three languages, experience has, in our opinion, shown that the plan is ill-advised. If issued monthly, such a publication will cost between two and three thousand francs a year, a sum that cannot easily be raised. Incidentally almost everything to be found in the bulletin is published by two Swiss newspapers—*Berner Tagwacht* and *La Sentinelle*.[157] We propose to the I.S.C.:

> that an attempt be made to reach an understanding with the editorial boards of the above newspapers and with some U.S. newspaper, regarding publication in these newspapers both of the bulletin and of all reports and materials of the I.S.C. (either textually in the name of the I.S.C., or in separate supplements).

This will not only be cheaper but will make it possible to keep the working class far better, more fully and more frequently informed of the I.S.C.'s activities. We are interested in a greater number of workers reading I.S.C. reports, and in all draft resolutions being published for the workers' information and to help them evolve their own attitude towards the war.

We hope that there will be no objections to the need to publish both the draft resolution (for whose acceptance as a basis 12 delegates, i.e., about 40 per cent of the total number, cast their votes, with 19 against) and the letter from a prominent German socialist[158] (with omission of his name and of everything that does *not* refer to tactics).

We hope that the I.S.C. will receive systematic information from the various countries regarding persecution and arrests for participation in the anti-war struggle, the course of the class struggle against the war, fraternising in the trenches, the closing down of newspapers, the banning of publication of calls for peace, etc. We also hope that

all this information will periodically appear in the newspapers mentioned above, on behalf of the I.S.C.

An agreement with an American daily or weekly paper could probably be reached by Mrs. Kollontai, who works in *Nashe Slovo* and other Social-Democratic newspapers, and has just left for the U.S.A. on a lecture tour. We could get in touch with Kollontai, or let you know her address.

5. Regarding the mode of representation of *sections* of parties (particularly in Germany and France, and also, probably, in Britain), we propose:

> that the I.S.C. suggest to the comrades in those parties that they discuss the advisability of setting up groups, under various names, whose appeals to the masses (in the form of leaflets, resolutions, etc.) will be published by the I.S.C., with the mention of the particular group in question.

If this method is followed, the masses, in the first place, would be kept informed of the internationalists' tactics and views, this despite the military censorship; secondly, it would be possible to discern the development and the successes achieved in the propaganda of internationalist views, in the degree that workers' meetings, organisations, etc., adopt resolutions of sympathy with one group or another; thirdly, it would become possible to give expression to various shades of opinion (i.e., the B.S.P.,* its *minority*, and the I.L.P.** in Britain; socialists like Bourderon and others, and syndicalists like Merrheim and others, in France; as the Conference has shown, there are shades *among* the opposition in Germany).

It goes without saying that these groups, as is pointed out in the letter of September 25, would not set up separate organisational units, but would exist within the old bodies *only* for contacts with the I.S.C. and for propaganda of the struggle for peace.

These groups would be represented in the "enlarged committee" and at conferences.

6. In the question of the number of members on the "enlarged committee", and of voting procedure, we propose the following:

* The British Socialist Party.—*Ed.*

** The Independent Labour Party.—*Ed.*

that the number of members should not be limited to a maximum of three, but, instead, *fractions of votes* ½, ⅓, etc.) should be introduced for small groups. This would be convenient, since to deprive of representation groups that have their own shades of opinion is just impossible, and injurious to the development and propaganda among the masses of the principles established in the manifesto.

7. With reference to the danger of the "enlarged committee" acquiring a "Russo-Polish character", we think that (however unpleasant that may be to the Russians) this apprehension is *justified*, since representation is possible of groups in emigration, which have no serious links with Russia. In our opinion, only those organisations and groups should be represented which have proved, *by no less than three years of work*, their ability to represent the movement in Russia. We propose to the I.S.C. that it discuss and establish that principle, and also request all groups to send in information and figures on their work in Russia.

8. Finally, we would take advantage of this opportunity to indicate an inaccuracy in No . 1 of the *Bulletin*[159] and ask that it be rectified in No. 2 (or in *Berner Tagwacht* and *La Sentinelle*). Issue No. 1 of the *Bulletin*, p. 7, the top of column 1, speaks of the draft resolution having been signed by the Central Committee, the Polish Social-Democrats (*Landesvorstand*), the Letts, Swedes, and Norwegians. Omitted in this enumeration are:

one German delegate (whose name is not given for reasons readily understood), and one Swiss—Platten.

Written not earlier than September 12 (25), 1915

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THE DEFEAT OF RUSSIA AND THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

The dissolution of the Fourth Duma in retaliation for the formation of an Opposition bloc consisting of liberals, Octobrists and nationalists, is one of the most vivid manifestations of the revolutionary crisis in Russia. The defeat of the armies of the tsarist monarchy; the growth of the strike movement and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat; the discontent of the masses and the formation of the liberal-Octobrist bloc for the purpose of reaching an understanding with the tsar on a programme of reforms and mobilising industry for the victory over Germany—such is the sequence and texture of events at the end of the first year of war.

There is obviously a revolutionary crisis in Russia, but its significance and the attendant tasks of the proletariat are not correctly understood by all.

History seems to be repeating itself: again there is a war, as in 1905, a war tsarism has dragged the country into with definite, patently annexationist, predatory and reactionary aims. Again there is military defeat, and a revolutionary crisis accelerated by it. Again the liberal bourgeoisie—in this case even in conjunction with large sections of the conservative bourgeoisie and the landowners—are advocating a programme of reform and of an understanding with the tsar. The situation is almost like that in the summer of 1905, prior to the Bulygin Duma, or in the summer of 1906, after the dissolution of the First Duma.

There is, however, actually a vast difference, viz., that this war has involved all Europe, all the most advanced countries with mass and powerful socialist movements.

The imperialist war has *linked up* the Russian revolutionary crisis, which stems from a bourgeois-democratic revolution, with the growing crisis of the proletarian socialist revolution in the West. This link is so direct that no individual solution of revolutionary problems is possible in any single country—the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution is now not only a prologue to, but an indivisible and integral part of, the socialist revolution in the West.

In 1905, it was the proletariat's task to consummate the bourgeois revolution in Russia so as to kindle the proletarian revolution in the West. In 1915, the second part of this task has acquired an urgency that puts it on a level with the first part. A new political division has arisen in Russia on the basis of new, higher, more developed and more complex international relations. This new division is between the chauvinist revolutionaries, who desire revolution so as to defeat Germany, and the proletarian internationalist revolutionaries, who desire a revolution in Russia *for the sake of* the proletarian revolution in the West, and simultaneously with that revolution. This new division is, in essence, one between the urban and the rural petty bourgeoisie in Russia, and the socialist proletariat. The new division must be clearly understood, for the impending revolution makes it the prime duty of a Marxist, i.e., of any class-conscious socialist, to realise the position of the *various classes*, and to interpret general differences over tactics and principles as differences in the positions of the various classes.

There is nothing more puerile, contemptible and harmful, than the idea current among revolutionary philistines, namely, that differences should be "forgotten" "in view" of the immediate common aim in the approaching revolution. People whom the experience of the 1905-14 decade has not taught the folly of this idea are hopeless from the revolutionary standpoint. Those who confine themselves, at this stage, to revolutionary exclamations, without analysing which classes have *proved* their ability to adopt, and have indeed adopted, a definite revolutionary programme do not really differ from "revolutionaries" like Khrustalyov, Aladyin and Alexinsky.

We have before us the clear-cut stand of the monarchy and the feudal-minded landowners—"no surrender" of Russia to the liberal bourgeoisie; better an understanding with the German monarchy. Equally clear is the liberal bourgeoisie's stand—exploit the defeat and the mounting revolution in order to wrest concessions from a frightened monarchy and compel it to share power with the bourgeoisie. Just as clear, too, is the stand of the revolutionary proletariat, which is striving to consummate the revolution by exploiting the vacillation and embarrassment of the government and the bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie, however, i.e., the vast mass of the barely awakening population of Russia, is groping blindly in the wake of the bourgeoisie, a captive to nationalist prejudices, on the one hand, prodded into the revolution by the unparalleled horror and misery of war, the high cost of living, impoverishment, ruin and starvation, but on the other hand, glancing *backward* at every step towards the idea of defence of the fatherland, towards the idea of Russia's state integrity, or towards the idea of small-peasant prosperity, to be achieved through a victory over tsarism and over Germany, but without a victory over capitalism.

This vacillation of the petty bourgeois, of the small peasant, is no accident, but the inevitable outcome of his economic position. It is foolish to shut one's eyes to this bitter but profound truth; it must be understood and traced back in the existing *political currents and groupings*, so as not to deceive ourselves and the people, and not to weaken and paralyse the revolutionary party of the Social-Democratic proletariat. The proletariat will debilitate itself if it permits its party to vacillate as the petty bourgeoisie does. The proletariat will accomplish its task only if it is able to march unfalteringly towards its great goal, pushing the petty bourgeoisie forward, letting the latter learn from its mistakes when it wavers to the right, and utilising all the petty bourgeoisie's forces to the utmost when life compels it to move to the left.

The Trudoviks, the S.R.s, and the Organising Committee's liquidationist supporters—these are the political *trends* in Russia which have taken shape during the past decade, have proved their links with the various groups, elements and

strata in the petty bourgeoisie, and shown vacillation from extreme revolutionism in word, to an alliance with the chauvinist Popular Socialists, or with *Nasha Zarya*, in deed. On September 3, 1915, for instance, the five secretaries of the Organising Committee abroad issued a manifesto on the tasks of the proletariat, which said not a word about opportunism and social-chauvinism, but called for a "revolt" in the rear of the German army (this after a whole year of struggle against the slogan of civil war!) and proclaimed a slogan praised so highly in 1905 by the Cadets, viz., a "constituent assembly for the liquidation of the war and for the abolition of the autocratic [June 3[160]] regime"! People who have failed to understand the need for a cleavage between the party of the proletariat and these petty-bourgeois trends so that the revolution may be successful, have assumed the name of Social-Democrats in vain.

No, in the face of the revolutionary crisis in Russia, which is being accelerated by defeat—and this is what the motley opponents of "defeatism" are afraid to admit—it will be the proletariat's duty to carry on the struggle against opportunism and chauvinism, or otherwise it will be impossible to develop the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, and to assist their movement by means of straightforward revolutionary slogans. Not a constituent assembly, but the overthrow of the monarchy, a republic, the confiscation of landed estates, and an eight-hour day will, as hitherto, be the slogans of the Social-Democratic proletariat, the slogans of our Party. In direct connection with this, and to make it possible really to single out the socialist tasks and contrast them with the tasks of bourgeois chauvinism (including the Plekhanov and the Kautsky brands) in all its propaganda and agitation, and in all working-class action, our Party will preserve the slogan of "transform the imperialist war into a civil war", i.e., the slogan of the socialist revolution in the West.

The lessons of the war are compelling even our opponents to recognise in practice both the stand of "defeatism" and the necessity of issuing—at first as a spirited phrase in a manifesto, but later more seriously and thoughtfully—the slogan of "a revolt in the rear" of the German militarists,

in other words, the slogan of a civil war. The lessons of the war, it appears, are knocking into their heads that which we have been insisting on since the very outset of the war. The defeat of Russia *has proved* the lesser evil, for it has tremendously enhanced the revolutionary crisis and has aroused millions, tens and hundreds of millions. Moreover, in conditions of an imperialist war, a revolutionary crisis in Russia could not but lead people's thoughts to the only salvation for the peoples—the idea of "a revolt in the rear" of the German army, i.e., the idea of a civil war in *all* the belligerent countries.

Life teaches. Life is *advancing*, through the defeat of Russia, towards a revolution in Russia and, through that revolution and in connection with it, towards a civil war in Europe. Life has taken this direction. And, drawing fresh strength from these lessons of life, which have justified its position, the party of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia will, with ever greater energy, follow the path it has chosen.

Written in the second half of September 1915

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THE FIRST STEP

The development of the international socialist movement is slow during the tremendous crisis created by the war. Yet it is moving towards a break with opportunism and social-chauvinism, as was clearly shown by the International Socialist Conference held at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, between September 5 and 8, 1915.

For a whole year, the socialists of the warring and the neutral countries vacillated and temporised. Afraid to admit to themselves the gravity of the crisis, they did not wish to look reality in the face, and kept deferring in a thousand ways the inevitable break with the opportunism and Kautskyism prevalent in the official parties of Western Europe.

However, the analysis of events which we gave a year ago in the Manifesto of the Central Committee (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 33)* has proved correct; the events have borne out its correctness. They *took* a course that resulted in the first International Socialist Conference being attended by representatives of the protesting elements of the minorities in Germany, France, Sweden, and Norway, who acted *against* the decisions of the official parties, i.e., in fact acted schismatically.

The work of the Conference was summed up in a manifesto and a resolution expressing sympathy with the arrested and the persecuted. Both documents appear in this issue of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. By nineteen votes to twelve, the Conference refused to submit to a committee the draft resolution proposed by us and other revolutionary Marxists;

* See pp. 25-34 of this volume.—*Ed.*

our draft manifesto was passed on to the committee together with two others, for a joint manifesto to be drawn up. The reader will find elsewhere in this issue our two drafts; a comparison of the latter with the manifesto adopted clearly shows that a number of fundamental ideas of revolutionary Marxism were adopted.

In practice, the manifesto signifies a step towards an ideological and practical break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. At the same time, the manifesto, as any analysis will show, contains inconsistencies, and does not say everything that should be said.

The manifesto calls the war imperialist and emphasises two features of imperialism: the striving of the capitalists of *every* nation for profits and the exploitation of others, and the striving of the Great Powers to partition the world and "enslave" weaker nations. The manifesto repeats the most essential things that should be said of the imperialist nature of the war, and were said in our resolution. In this respect, the manifesto merely *popularises* our resolution. Popularisation is undoubtedly a useful thing. However, if we want clear thinking in the working class and attach importance to systematic and unflagging propaganda, we must accurately and fully define the principles to be popularised. If that is not done, we risk repeating the error, the fault of the Second International which led to its collapse, viz., we shall be leaving room for ambiguity and misinterpretations. Is it, for instance, possible to deny the signal importance of the idea, expressed in our resolution, that the objective conditions are mature for socialism? The "popular" exposition of the manifesto omitted this idea; failure has attended the attempt to combine, in one document, a clear and precise resolution based on principle, and an appeal.

"The capitalists of all countries ... claim that the war serves to defend the fatherland.... They are lying...", the manifesto continues. Here again, this forthright statement that the fundamental idea of opportunism in the present war—the "defence-of-the-fatherland" idea—is a lie, is a repetition of the kernel of the revolutionary Marxists' resolution. Again, the manifesto regrettably fails to say everything that should be said; it is half-hearted, afraid to

speak the whole truth. After a year of war, who today is not aware of the actual damage caused to socialism, not only by the capitalist press *repeating and endorsing* the capitalists' *lies* (it is its business as a capitalist press to repeat the capitalists' lies), but also by the greater part of the socialist press doing so? Who does not know that European socialism's greatest crisis has been brought about not by the "capitalists' lies", but by the *lies* of Guesde, Hyndman, Vandervelde, Plekhanov and *Kautsky*? Who does not know that the *lies* spoken by such leaders suddenly revealed all the strength of the opportunism that swept them away at the decisive moment?

Let us take a look at what has come about: To make the masses see things in a clearer light, the manifesto says that in the present war the defence of the fatherland idea is a capitalist lie. The European masses, however, are not illiterate, and almost all who have read the manifesto have heard, and still hear *that same lie* from hundreds of socialist papers, journals, and pamphlets, echoing them [it?] after Plekhanov, Hyndman, Kautsky and Co. What will the readers of the manifesto think? What thoughts will arise in them after this display of timidity by the authors of the manifesto? Disregard the capitalists' lie about the defence of the fatherland, the manifesto tells the workers. Well and good. Practically all of them will say or think: the *capitalists'* lie has long stopped bothering us, but the lie of Kautsky and Co. ...

The manifesto goes on to repeat another important idea in our resolution, viz., that the socialist parties and the workers' organisations of the various countries "have *flouted* obligations stemming from the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle congresses"; that the International Socialist Bureau too has *failed to do its duty*; that this failure to do its duty consisted in voting for war credits, joining governments, recognising "a class truce" (submission to which the manifesto calls *slavish*; in other words, it accuses Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. of substituting for propaganda of socialism the propaganda of *slavish* ideas).

Is it consistent, we shall ask, to speak, in a "popular" manifesto, of the failure of a number of parties to do their

duty (it is common knowledge that the reference is to the strongest parties and the workers' organisations in the most advanced countries: Britain, France and Germany), without giving any explanation of this startling and unprecedented fact? The greater part of the socialist parties and the International Socialist Bureau itself have failed to do their duty! What is this—an accident and the failure of individuals, or the turning-point of an entire epoch? If it is the former, and *we* circulate that idea among the masses, it is tantamount to *our* renouncing the fundamentals of socialist doctrine. If it is the latter, how can we fail to say so forthright? We are facing a moment of historic significance—the collapse of the International as a whole, a turning-point of an entire epoch—and yet we are *afraid* to tell the masses that the whole truth must be sought for and found, and that we must do our thinking to the very end. It is preposterous and ridiculous to suppose that the International Socialist Bureau and a number of parties could have collapsed, *without* linking up this event with the long history of the origin, the growth, the maturing and *over*-maturity of the general European opportunist movement, with its deep economic roots—deep, not in the sense that it is intimately linked with the masses, but in the sense that it is connected with a certain stratum of society.

Passing on to the "struggle for peace", the manifesto states that: "This struggle is a struggle for freedom, the brotherhood of peoples, and socialism". It goes on to explain that in wartime the workers make sacrifices "in the service of the ruling classes", whereas they must learn to make sacrifices "*for their own cause*" (doubly underscored in the manifesto), "for the sacred aims of socialism". The resolution which expresses sympathy with arrested and persecuted fighters says that "the Conference solemnly undertakes to honour the living and the dead by *emulating their example*" and that its aim will be to "arouse the revolutionary spirit in the international proletariat".

All these ideas are a reiteration of our resolution's fundamental idea that a struggle for peace *without* a revolutionary struggle is a hollow and false phrase, and that a revolutionary struggle for socialism is the only way to put an end to the horror of war. But here too we find inconsist-

ency, timidity, and a failure to say everything that ought to be said: it calls upon the masses to *emulate the example* of the revolutionary fighters; it declares that the five members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma group who have been sentenced to exile in Siberia have carried on "the glorious revolutionary tradition of Russia"; it proclaims the necessity of "arousing the revolutionary spirit", but *it does not specify* forthright and clearly the revolutionary methods of struggle.

Was our Central Committee right in signing this manifesto, with all its inconsistency and timidity? We think it was. Our non-agreement, the non-agreement, not only of our Central Committee but of the entire *international* Left-wing section of the Conference, which stands by the principles of *revolutionary Marxism*, is openly expressed both in a special resolution, a separate draft manifesto, and a separate declaration on the vote for a compromise manifesto. We did not conceal a jot of our views, slogans, or tactics. A German edition of our pamphlet, *Socialism and War*,* was handed out at the Conference. We have spread, are spreading, and shall continue to spread our views with no less energy than the manifesto will. It is a fact that this manifesto is a *step forward* towards a real struggle against opportunism, towards a rupture with it. It would be sectarianism to refuse to take this step forward *together* with the minority of German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, and Swiss socialists, when we retain full freedom and full opportunity to criticise inconsistency and to work for greater things.** It would be poor war tactics to refuse to adhere to the mounting international protest movement against social-chauvinism just because this movement is slow, because it takes "only" a single step forward and because it is ready and willing to take a step backward tomorrow

* See pp. 295-338 of this volume.—*Ed.*

** We are not frightened by the fact that the Organising Committee and the Social-Revolutionaries signed the manifesto diplomatically, retaining all their links with—*and all their attachment* to *Nasha Zarya*, Rubanovich, and the July 1915 Conference of the Popular Socialists and the Social-Revolutionaries in Russia.[161] We have means enough to combat corrupt diplomacy and unmask it. It is more and more unmasking itself. *Nasha Zarya* and Chkheidze's group are *helping* us unmask Axelrod and Co.

and make peace with the old International Socialist Bureau. Its readiness to make peace with the opportunists is so far merely wishful thinking. Will the opportunists agree to a peace? Is peace *objectively* possible between *trends* that are dividing more and more deeply—social-chauvinism and Kautskyism on the one hand, and on the other, revolutionary internationalist Marxism? We consider it impossible, and we shall continue our line, encouraged as we are by its *success* at the Conference of September 5-8.

The success of our line is beyond doubt. Compare the facts: In September 1914, our Central Committee's Manifesto seemed almost isolated. In March 1915, an international women's conference adopted a miserable pacifist resolution, which was blindly followed by the Organising Committee. In September 1915, we rallied in a whole group of the international Left wing. We came out with our own tactics, voiced a number of our fundamental ideas in a joint manifesto, and took part in the formation of an I.S.C. (International Socialist Committee), i.e., a practically new International Socialist Bureau, against the wishes of the old one, and on the basis of a manifesto that openly condemns the tactics of the latter.

The workers of Russia, whose overwhelming majority followed our Party and its Central Committee even in the years 1912-14, will now, from the experience of the international socialist movement, see that our tactics are being confirmed in a wider area, and that our fundamental ideas are shared by an ever growing and finer part of the proletarian International.

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Published according to
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REVOLUTIONARY MARXISTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 5-8, 1915

The ideological struggle at the Conference was waged between a compact group of internationalists, revolutionary Marxists, and the vacillating near-Kautskyites, who formed the Right wing of the Conference. The unitedness of the former group is one of the most important facts and greatest achievements of the Conference. After a year of war, the trend represented by our Party proved the *only* trend in the International to adopt a fully definite resolution as well as a draft manifesto based on the latter, and to unite the consistent Marxists of Russia, Poland, the Lettish territory, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and Holland.

What arguments did the vacillating elements advance against us? The Germans admitted that we were advancing towards revolutionary battles, but, they said, we do not have to proclaim from the house-tops such things as fraternisation in the trenches, political strikes, street demonstrations and civil war. Such things are done, they said, but not spoken of. Others added: this is childishness, verbal pyrotechnics.

The German semi-Kautskyites castigated themselves for these ridiculously, indecently contradictory and evasive speeches by passing a resolution of sympathy and a declaration on the need to "follow the example" of the members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group, who distributed *Sotsial-Demokrat*, our Central Organ, which proclaimed civil war from the house-tops.

You are following the bad example set by Kautsky, we replied to the Germans; in word, you recognise the impending revolution; in deed, you refuse to tell the masses about it openly, to call for it, and indicate the most concrete means of struggle which the masses are to test and legitimise in the course of the revolution. In 1847, Marx and Engels, who were living *abroad*—the German philistines were horrified at revolutionary methods of struggle being spoken of from abroad!—called for revolution, in their celebrated *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; they spoke forthright of the use of force, and branded as contemptible any attempt to conceal the revolutionary aims, tasks and methods of the struggle. The Revolution of 1848 proved that Marx and Engels *alone* had applied the correct tactics to the events Several years prior to the 1905 Revolution in Russia Plekhanov, who was then still a Marxist, wrote an unsigned article in the old *Iskra* of 1901, expressing the editorial board's views on the coming insurrection, on ways of preparing it, such as street demonstrations; and even on technical devices, such as using wire in combating cavalry. The Russian revolution proved that the old Iskrists alone had approached the events with the correct tactics. We are now faced with the following alternative: either we are really and truly convinced that the war is creating a revolutionary situation in Europe, and that all the economic and socio-political circumstances of the imperialist period are leading up to a revolution of the proletariat—in which case we are in duty bound to explain to the masses the need for revolution, call for it, create the necessary organisations, and speak fearlessly and most concretely of the various methods of the forcible struggle and its "technique". This duty of ours does not depend upon whether the revolution will be strong enough, or whether it will arrive with a first or a second imperialist war, etc. Or else we are not convinced that the situation is revolutionary, in which case there is no sense in our just talking about a war against war. In that case, we are, in fact, national liberal-labour politicians of the Südekum-Plekhanov or Kautsky variety.

The French delegates also declared that the present situation in Europe, as they saw it, would lead to revolution. But, they said, first, "we have not come here to pro-

vide a formula for a Third International"; secondly, the French worker "believes nobody and nothing"; he is demoralised and satiated with anarchist and Hervéist phrases. The former argument is unreasonable, because the joint compromise manifesto *does* "provide a formula" for a Third International, though it is inconsistent, incomplete and not given sufficient thought. The latter argument is very important as a very serious factual argument, which takes the specific situation in France into account, not in the meaning of defence of the fatherland, or the enemy invasion, but in taking note of the "sore points" in the French labour movement. The only thing that logically follows from this, however, is that the French socialists would perhaps join general European revolutionary action by the proletariat *more slowly* than others, and not that such action is unnecessary. The question as to *how rapidly*, in which way and in- which particular forms, the proletariat of the various countries are capable of taking revolutionary action was not raised at the Conference and could not have been. The conditions for this are not yet ripe. For the present it is our task to jointly *propagandise* the correct tactics and leave it to events to indicate the *tempo* of the movement, and the modifications in the mainstream (according to nation, locality and trade). If the French proletariat has been demoralised by anarchist phrases, it has been demoralised by Millerandism too, and it is not our business to *increase* this demoralisation by *leaving things unsaid* in the manifesto.

It was none other than Merrheim who uttered the characteristic and profoundly correct phrase: "The [Socialist] Party, Jouhaux [secretary of the General Confederation of Labour[162]] and the government are three heads under one bonnet." This is the truth, a fact proved by the experience of the year of struggle waged by the French internationalists against the Party and Messrs. Jouhaux. There is, however, only one conclusion to be drawn: the government cannot be fought unless the opportunist parties and the leaders of anarcho-syndicalism are fought against. Unlike our resolution, the joint manifesto merely indicated the tasks in the struggle but did not say everything that should have been said about them.

Arguing against our tactics, one of the Italians said: "Your tactics come either too late [since the war has already begun] or too soon [because the war has not yet created the conditions for revolution]; besides, you propose to 'change the programme' of the International, since all our propaganda has always been conducted 'against violence'." It was very easy for us to reply to this by quoting Jules Guesde in *En garde!* to the effect that not a single influential leader of the Second International ever rejected the use of violence and direct revolutionary methods of the struggle in general. It has always been argued that the legal struggle, parliamentarism and insurrection are interlinked, and *must inevitably* pass into each other according to the changes in the conditions of the movement. From the same book, *En garde!*, we quoted a passage in a speech delivered by Guesde in 1899, in which he spoke of the possibility of a war for markets, colonies, etc., and went on to say that if there were any French, German and British Millerands in such a war, then "what would become of international working-class solidarity?" In this speech Guesde condemned himself in advance. As for declaring propaganda of revolution "inopportune", this objection rests on a confusion of concepts usual among socialists in the Romance countries: they confuse the beginning of a revolution with open and direct propaganda for revolution. In Russia, nobody places the beginning of the 1905 Revolution before January 9, 1905,[163] whereas revolutionary propaganda, in the very narrow sense of the word, the propaganda and the preparation of mass action, demonstrations, strikes, barricades, had been conducted *for years* prior to that. The old *Iskra*, for instance, began to propagandise the matter at the end of 1900, as Marx did in 1847, when nobody thought as yet of the *beginning of a revolution* in Europe.

After a revolution has begun, it is "recognised" even by the liberals and its other enemies; they often recognise it so as to deceive and betray it. *Before* the revolution, revolutionaries foresee it, realise its inevitability, make the masses understand its necessity, and explain its course and methods to the masses.

By the irony of history, Kautsky and his friends, who tried to take out of Grimm's hands the initiative of con-

vening the Conference, and attempted to disrupt the Conference of the Left wing (Kautsky's closest friends even went *on a tour* for this purpose, as Grimm disclosed at the Conference), were *the very ones* who pushed the Conference *to the left*. By *their* deeds, the opportunists and the Kautskyites have proved the correctness of the stand taken by our Party.

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KAUTSKY, AXELROD, AND MARTOV — TRUE INTERNATIONALISTS

Shortly before the Zimmerwald Conference, a pamphlet by P. Axelrod came out in Zurich in the German language, under the title of *The Crisis and the Tasks of International Social-Democracy*.* The Zurich *Volksrecht* subsequently published two articles by L. Martov in praise of the pamphlet. We do not know whether the two authors will bring out these works in Russian. It would be hard to find a better illustration of the way the leaders of the Organising Committee are defending opportunism and social-chauvinism.

The struggle against "dangers threatening party unity" runs through the whole pamphlet. "A rupture and dissension"—this is what Axelrod is afraid of, and endlessly repeats *ad nauseam*. Do not imagine, however, that it is the present state of affairs in Social-Democracy, the present alliance between its leaders and their respective national bourgeoisie, that Axelrod considers dissension and a rupture. Oh, no! In Axelrod's opinion, dissension means drawing a clear line of distinction between true socialists and social-chauvinists. Kautsky is numbered by Axelrod among the comrades "whose internationalist sentiments and consciousness are beyond any doubt". Yet, in all the forty-six pages of the pamphlet there is not the slightest attempt to bring Kautsky's views together, quote them correctly, and ascertain whether recognition of the defence of the fatherland idea in the present war does not imply chauvinism.

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* *Die Krise und die Aufgaben der internationalen Sozial-demokratie.—Ed.*

Not a word on the issue, or about our arguments. What we find is a "report to the authorities". In the course of a lecture delivered in Zurich, Lenin, he writes, called Kautsky chauvinist, philistine, traitor (p. 21). Dear Martov and Axelrod, this is no longer literature, but a desk-sergeant's report.

"In the West," the pamphlet says, "we do not find that variety of supermen who utilise each party crisis, any difficult situation, to step forth in the role of the Party's sole saviours from destruction, and light-heartedly conduct an inner-party policy of chaos and disorganisation" (p. 22). Is this literature?

But if there are no such super-monsters "in the West" who dare consider Kautsky and Axelrod chauvinists and opportunists, and at the very thought of whom dear Axelrod trembles with rage and emits a spate of such elegant and choice language, how could Axelrod have written two pages earlier:

"If one considers the indignation that is mounting in ever broader party circles, especially in Germany and France, against the policy of 'seeing it through' that is followed by our responsible party organs, it is by no means impossible that the practical tendencies of the Leninist propaganda may, through various channels, penetrate into the ranks of Western Social-Democracy."

That being the case, the fault does not seem to lie with the genuinely Russian super-monsters who are flaying dear Axelrod! It would appear that the *international* chauvinism of the official parties—both in Germany and France, as Axelrod himself admits (note this!)—is evoking indignation in and resistance from *international* revolutionary Social-Democrats. Consequently, we have *two trends*, both international. The angry Axelrod is abusive because he does not realise the inevitability of both trends, of a decisive struggle between them; another reason is that it pains his conscience and sensibilities, and that it is not to his advantage openly to show his own stand, which consists in a desire to *appear* internationalist while being chauvinist.

"The problem of internationalising the working-class movement is not identical with the question of revolutionising our forms and methods of struggle," he says; it is, as

you see, "an ideological explanation" when one reduces everything to opportunism and ignores the "tremendous force" of "patriotic ideas" which are "the product of thousand-year-old historical processes". "One must therefore strive," he continues, "to create within the framework of this bourgeois society an actual *reality* [italics by Axelrod], objective conditions of existence, at least for the struggling masses of workers, which can weaken the above-mentioned dependence", namely, "the dependence of the masses upon the historically evolved national and territorial social formations". "For instance," Axelrod goes on to illustrate his profound idea, "labour protection and insurance legislation, as well as various other important political demands, and, finally, the cultural and educational needs and strivings of the workers, must become the object of their *international* [italics by Axelrod] action and organisations." Everything, he says, reduces itself to "internationalising the day-by-day struggle for the demands of the moment".

This is certainly enticing and so unlike the struggle against opportunism invented by some super-monsters! True internationalism in italics and a true "Marxism" that is not satisfied with "ideological" explanations consist in concern over the internationalisation of insurance legislation! Wonderful! The idea of a genius. Without any "struggle, rupture or dissension", all international opportunists or international liberals, from Lloyd George to Friedrich Naumann and from Leroy Beaulieu to Milyukov, Struve and Guchkov, will eagerly subscribe to the scientific, profound and objective "internationalism" of Axelrod, Martov, and Kautsky.

Here are some real gems of "internationalism"! Kautsky says: If I defend my fatherland in an imperialist war, i.e., a war to plunder and enslave other countries, and recognise that the workers of the other belligerent countries are entitled to defend their fatherland, this is true internationalism. Axelrod says: One must not be carried away by "ideological" attacks on opportunism but must carry on a practical struggle against thousand-year-old nationalism by means of (also a thousand-year-old) internationalisation of day-by-day work in the field of insurance laws. Martov agrees with Axelrod.

Axelrod's phrases about the thousand-year-old roots of nationalism, etc., have about as much political sense as the declarations of the Russian serf-owners prior to 1861,* about the thousand-year-old roots of serfdom. Such phrases are grist to the mill of the reactionaries and the bourgeoisie, since Axelrod fails to mention—modestly fails to mention—that decades of capitalist development, particularly after 1871, have created those *objective* international links between the proletarians of all countries which today, at the present juncture, must find expression in international revolutionary action. Axelrod is opposed to such action. He is in favour of referring to the thousand-year-old roots of the knout, but he is opposed to action aimed at destroying the knout!

But what about the proletarian revolution? The 1912 Basle Manifesto spoke of it in connection with the impending war, which actually broke out two years later. Perhaps Axelrod considers that this manifesto is also frivolous "ideology"—an expression quite in the spirit of Struve's and Cunow's "Marxism"!—for he *does not say a word* about it. As for the revolution, he dismisses it as follows:

"The tendency to view stormy and revolutionary mass action or uprisings as the sole way of overcoming nationalism would have some justification if we were on the eve of a social revolution, in the very same way, for instance, as was the case in Russia beginning with the students' demonstrations of 1901, which were the precursors of the approaching decisive battles against absolutism. But even those comrades who place all their hopes on the speedy beginning of a stormy revolutionary period will not risk stating definitely that the decisive conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is imminent. On the contrary, they too count on a period lasting decades" (p. 41). This, of course, is followed by fulmination against the "Utopia" and the "Bakuninists" among Russian émigrés.

This example, chosen by Axelrod, exposes our opportunist in peerless fashion. Could anybody in his right mind

* The year of the abolition of serfdom in Russia.—*Ed.*

have "definitely stated" in 1901 that the decisive struggle against absolutism in Russia was "imminent"? Nobody could have done so and nobody did say so. Nobody could have known at the time that *four years later one* of the decisive clashes (December 1905) was to come, and that the next "decisive" battle against absolutism would take place perhaps in 1915-16, or even later.

If nobody asserted in 1901, either definitely or in any other way, that a decisive battle was "imminent"; if we declared at the time that the "hysterical" outcries of Krichevsky, Martynov and Co. about an "imminent" battle were lacking in seriousness, then we revolutionary Social-Democrats were at that time *positively* affirming something else: we affirmed that only hopeless opportunists could fail to understand in 1901 the task of *actively supporting* the revolutionary demonstrations of 1901, encouraging and developing them, and providing them with the most determined revolutionary slogans. History has proved that we, and only we, were right; history has condemned the opportunists, and has thrown them out of the working-class movement, although no decisive battle was "imminent" at the time, and the first decisive battle took place *only* four years later and yet did not prove to be the last battle, i.e., the final and decisive battle.

Today Europe is going through quite the same experience, literally the same experience. There cannot be the slightest doubt that a revolutionary situation exists in the Europe of 1915, as in the Russia of 1901. We cannot tell whether the proletariat's first "decisive" battle against the bourgeoisie will take place in four years or two, within a decade or more; we cannot tell whether the second "decisive" battle will take place a decade after that, but we do know firmly and we declare "positively" that at present it is our immediate and bounden duty to support the growing unrest and the demonstrations which have *already* begun. It is a fact that in Germany a crowd has booed Scheidemann, and that in many countries crowds have demonstrated against the high cost of living. Axelrod is evading this immediate and imperative duty of Social-Democrats; Axelrod would dissuade the workers from performing that duty. If one weighs the political sum and substance of Axelrod's arguments, one

will see that he is *with* the leaders of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism, and *against* the immediate propaganda of and preparations for revolutionary action. This is the gist of the matter. All the rest is just words.

We are *undoubtedly* on the eve of a socialist revolution. This was recognised by ultra-cautious theorists, like Kautsky, as early as 1909 (*Der Weg zur Macht*); it was recognised in the unanimously adopted Basle Manifesto of 1912. Just as in 1901 we did not know whether the "eve" of the first Russian revolution would last four years, we do not know that today. The revolution may and probably will consist of many years of fighting, of several periods of onslaught with intervals of counter-revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois system. The main issue of the present political situation boils down to the question of whether the already existing revolutionary situation should be exploited by supporting and developing *revolutionary* movements. Yes or no? That is the question that at present politically divides social-chauvinists and revolutionary internationalists. Despite the revolutionary phrases of all three, as well as of the five secretaries of the Organising Committee abroad, Kautsky, Axelrod, and Martov are, on this issue, on the side of the social-chauvinists.

Axelrod makes use of a profusion of phrases to cover up his defence of social-chauvinism. His pamphlet may serve as an example of *how* opinions can be concealed and *how* language and print can be used to disguise ideas. Axelrod harps on the word internationalism. He censures both the social-patriots and their friends for not wanting to shift to the left, hints that he stands left of Kautsky, and speaks of the need for a Third International, which, he says, should be strong enough to reply to attempts by the bourgeoisie to kindle a world war conflagration "not with threats but by unleashing a revolutionary storm" (p. 14), and so on and so forth *ad infinitum*. In word, Axelrod is prepared to recognise anything, including a revolutionary storm; in deed, he wants unity with Kautsky and consequently with Scheidemann in Germany, with the chauvinist and counter-revolutionary *Nache Dyelo* and with Chkheidze's group in Russia, in deed, he is *against* supporting and furthering *at present the incipient revolutionary movement*. In word,

everything; in deed, nothing. In word, he vehemently avows that he is an "internationalist" and a revolutionary; in deed, he supports the social-chauvinists and opportunists of the whole world in their struggle against the revolutionary internationalists .

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SEVERAL THESES

PROPOSED BY THE EDITORS

The material published in this issue shows the tremendous scope of the work being done by the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party. To Russia, and indeed to the entire International, this is indeed a model of Social-Democratic work during a reactionary war and in most difficult conditions. The workers of St. Petersburg and Russia will bend every effort to give support to that work and will continue it along the same road ever more energetically and extensively.

Complying with advice from comrades in Russia, we have drawn up several theses on current problems of Social-Democratic work:

(1) The slogan of a "constituent assembly" is wrong as an independent slogan, because the question *now* is: who will convene it? The liberals accepted that slogan in 1905 because it *could* have been interpreted as meaning that a "constituent assembly" would be convened by the tsar and would be in agreement with him. The most correct slogans are the "three pillars" (a democratic republic, confiscation of the landed estates and an eight-hour working day), with the addition (cf. No. 9) of a call for the workers' international solidarity in the struggle for socialism and the revolutionary overthrow of the belligerent governments, and against the war.

(2) We are opposed to participation in the war industries committees,[164] which help prosecute the imperialist and reactionary war. We are in favour of utilising the election campaign; for instance, we are for participation

in the first stage of the elections for the *sole* purpose of agitation and organisation. There can be no talk of boycotting the Duma. Participation in the second ballot is *essential*. While we have no Duma deputies from our Party, we must utilise everything that happens in the Duma so as to advance the aims of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

(3) We consider that the consolidation and extension of Social-Democratic work among the proletariat and its extension to the rural proletariat, the rural poor and the army are the immediate and pressing tasks. It is revolutionary Social-Democracy's most pressing task to develop the incipient strike movement, and to conduct it under the slogan of the "three pillars". The demand for the immediate cessation of the war should be given due attention. Among other demands, the workers must not lose sight of the demand for the immediate reinstatement of the workers' deputies, members of the R.S.D.L. Duma group.

(4) Soviets of Workers' Deputies and similar institutions must be regarded as organs of insurrection, of revolutionary rule. It is only in connection with the development of a mass political strike and with an insurrection, and in the measure of the latter's preparedness, development and success that such institutions can be of lasting value.

(5) Only a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry can form the social content of the impending revolution in Russia. The revolution cannot be victorious in Russia unless it overthrows the monarchy and the feudal-minded landowners, and these cannot be overthrown unless the proletariat is supported by the peasantry. The step forward made in the differentiation of the rural population into wealthy "homestead farmers" and rural proletarians has not done away with the oppression of the rural areas by the Markovs and Co.[165] We have urged and still urge the absolute need, in all and any circumstances, for a *separate* organisation for rural *proletarians*.

(6) The task confronting the proletariat of Russia is the consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia *in order* to kindle the socialist revolution in Europe. The latter task now stands very close to the former, yet it remains a special and second task, for it is a ques-

tion of the *different classes* which are collaborating with the proletariat of Russia. In the former task, it is the petty-bourgeois peasantry of Russia who are collaborating; in the latter, it is the proletariat of other countries.

(7) As hitherto, we consider it admissible for Social-Democrats to join a provisional revolutionary government together with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, but *not* with the revolutionary chauvinists.

(8) By revolutionary chauvinists we mean those who want a victory over tsarism so as to achieve victory over Germany, plunder other countries, consolidate Great-Russian rule over the other peoples of Russia, etc. Revolutionary chauvinism is based on the class position of the petty bourgeoisie. The latter always vacillates between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At present it is vacillating between chauvinism (which prevents it from being consistently revolutionary, even in the meaning of a democratic revolution), and proletarian internationalism. At the moment the Trudoviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, *Nasha Zarya*, Chkheidze's Duma group, the Organising Committee, Mr. Plekhanov and the like are political spokesmen for this petty bourgeoisie in Russia.

(9) If the revolutionary chauvinists won in Russia, we would be opposed to a defence of *their* "fatherland" in the present war. Our slogan is: against the chauvinists, even if they are revolutionary and republican—*against* them, and *for* an alliance of the international proletariat for the socialist revolution.

(10) To the question of whether it is possible for the proletariat to assume the leadership in the bourgeois Russian revolution, our answer is: yes, it is possible, *if* the petty bourgeoisie swings to the left at the decisive moment; it is being pushed to the left, not only by our propaganda, but by a number of objective factors, economic, financial (the burden of war), military, political, and others.

(11) To the question of what the party of the proletariat would do if the revolution placed power in its hands in the present war, our answer is as follows: we would propose peace to *all* the belligerents on the condition that freedom is given to the colonies and *all* peoples that are dependent,

oppressed and deprived of rights. Under the present governments, neither Germany, nor Britain and France would accept this condition. In that case, we would have to prepare for and wage a revolutionary war, i.e., not only resolutely carry out the whole of our minimum programme,[166] but work systematically to bring about an uprising among all peoples now oppressed by the Great Russians, all colonies and dependent countries in Asia (India, China, Persia, etc.), and also, and first and foremost, we would raise up the socialist proletariat of Europe for an insurrection against their governments and despite the social-chauvinists. There is no doubt that a victory of the proletariat in Russia would create extraordinarily favourable conditions for the development of the revolution in both Asia and Europe. *Even* 1905 proved that. The international solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat is a *fact*, despite the scum of opportunism and social-chauvinism.

We now present these theses for discussion among the comrades, and shall develop our views in the next issues of the Central Organ.

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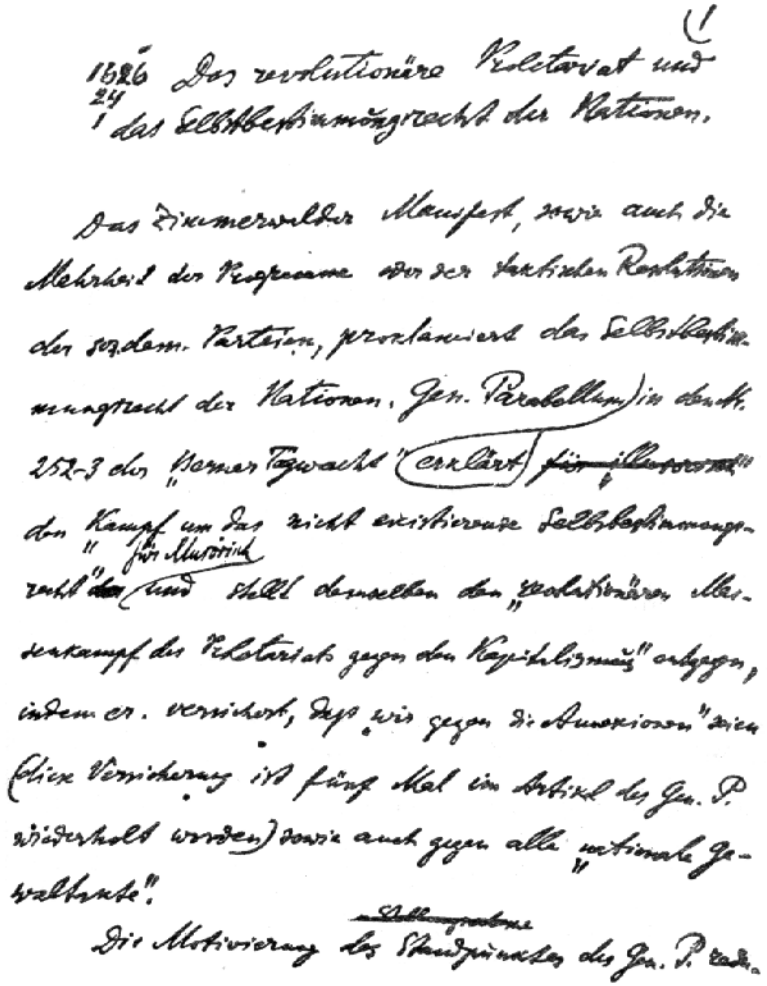

1826 Das revolutionäre Proletariat und
24
I das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen.

Das Zimmerwalder Manifest, sowie auch die Mehrheit der Programme oder der taktischen Resolutionen der sozdem. Parteien, proklamiert das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen. (Jen. Parabellum) in denk. 252-3 der "Berner Tagwacht" erklärt für illusorisch" den Kampf um das "für Autonomie" nicht existierende Selbstbestimmungsrecht" der und stellt demselben den "revolutionären Klassenkampf des Proletariats gegen den Kapitalismus" entgegen, indem er versichert, daß wir gegen die Annexionen" (diese Versicherung ist fünf Mal im Artikel des Gen. P. wiederholt worden) sowie auch gegen alle nationale Gewaltakte".

Die Motivierung des Standpunktes des Gen. P. [illegible]

First page of Lenin's manuscript "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1915 (in German)
Reduced

First page of Lenin's manuscript "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1915 (in German)
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THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Like most programmes or tactical resolutions of the Social-Democratic parties, the Zimmerwald Manifesto proclaims the "right of nations to self-determination". In Nos. 252 and 253 of *Berner Tagwacht*, Parabellum[167] has called "illusory" "the struggle for the non-existent right to self-determination", and *has contraposed* to it "the proletariat's revolutionary mass struggle against capitalism", while at the same time *assuring* us that "we are against annexations" (an assurance is repeated *five* times in Parabellum's article), and against all violence against nations.

The arguments advanced by Parabellum in support of his position boil down to an assertion that today all national problems, like those of Alsace-Lorraine, Armenia, etc., are problems of imperialism; that capital has outgrown the framework of national states; that it is impossible to turn the clock of history back to the obsolete ideal of national states, etc.

Let us see whether Parabellum's reasoning is correct.

First of all, it is Parabellum who is looking backward, not forward, when, in opposing working-class acceptance "of the ideal of the national state", he looks towards Britain, France, Italy, Germany, i.e., countries where the movement for national liberation is a thing of the past, and not towards the East, towards Asia, Africa, and the colonies, where this movement is a thing of the present and the future. Mention of India, China, Persia, and Egypt will be sufficient.

Furthermore, imperialism means that capital has outgrown the framework of national states; it means that national oppression has been extended and heightened on a new historical foundation. Hence, it follows that, despite Parabellum, we must *link* the revolutionary struggle for socialism with a revolutionary programme on the national question.

From what Parabellum says, it appears that, *in the name of* the socialist revolution, he scornfully rejects a consistently revolutionary programme in the sphere of democracy. He is wrong to do so. The proletariat cannot be victorious except through democracy, i.e., by giving full effect to democracy and by linking with each step of its struggle democratic demands formulated in the most resolute terms. It is absurd to *contrapose* the socialist revolution and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism to a *single* problem of democracy, in this case, the national question. We must *combine* the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary programme and tactics on *all* democratic demands: a republic, a militia, the popular election of officials, equal rights for women, the self-determination of nations, etc. While capitalism exists, these demands—all of them—can only be accomplished as an exception, and even then in an incomplete and distorted form. Basing ourselves on the democracy already achieved, and exposing its incompleteness under capitalism, we demand the overthrow of capitalism, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, as a necessary basis both for the abolition of the poverty of the masses and for the *complete* and *all-round* institution of *all* democratic reforms. Some of these reforms will be started before the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, others *in the course* of that overthrow, and still others after it. The social revolution is not a single battle, but a period covering a series of battles over all sorts of problems of economic and democratic reform, which are consummated only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is for the sake of this final aim that we must formulate *every one* of our democratic demands in a consistently revolutionary way. It is quite conceivable that the workers of some particular country will overthrow the bourgeoisie *before* even a single fundamental democratic reform has been fully achieved. It is, however, quite

inconceivable that the proletariat, as a historical class, will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie, unless it is prepared for that by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent and resolutely revolutionary democracy.

Imperialism means the progressively mounting oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of Great Powers; it means a period of wars between the latter to extend and consolidate the oppression of nations; it means a period in which the masses of the people are deceived by hypocritical social-patriots, i.e., individuals who, *under the pretext* of the "freedom of nations", "the right of nations to self-determination", and "defence of the fatherland", justify and defend the oppression of the majority of the world's nations by the Great Powers.

That is why the focal point in the Social-Democratic programme must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the *essence* of imperialism, and is *deceitfully* evaded by the social-chauvinists and Kautsky. This division is not significant from the angle of bourgeois pacifism or the philistine Utopia of peaceful competition among independent nations under capitalism, but it is most significant from the angle of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. It is from this division that *our* definition of the "right of nations to self-determination" must follow, a definition that is consistently democratic, revolutionary, and *in accord* with the general task of the immediate struggle for socialism. It is for that right, and in a struggle to achieve sincere recognition for it, that the Social-Democrats of the oppressor nations must demand that the oppressed nations should have the right of secession, for otherwise recognition of equal rights for nations and of international working-class solidarity would in fact be merely empty phrase-mongering, sheer hypocrisy. On the other hand, the Social-Democrats of the oppressed nations must attach prime significance to the unity and the merging of the workers of the oppressed nations with those of the oppressor nations; otherwise these Social-Democrats will involuntarily become the allies of their own national *bourgeoisie*, which *always* betrays the interests of the people and of democracy, and is *always* ready, in its turn, to annex territory and oppress other nations.

The way in which the national question was posed at the end of the sixties of the past century may serve as an instructive example. The petty-bourgeois democrats, to whom any thought of the class struggle and of the socialist revolution was wholly alien, pictured to themselves a Utopia of peaceful competition among free and equal nations, under capitalism. In examining the immediate tasks of the social revolution, the Proudhonists totally "negated" the national question and the right of nations to self-determination. Marx ridiculed French Proudhonism and showed the affinity between it and French chauvinism. ("All Europe must and will sit quietly on their hindquarters until the gentlemen in France abolish 'poverty'.... By the negation of nationalities they appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption by the model French nation.") Marx demanded *the separation of Ireland* from Britain "although after the separation there may come federation", demanding it, not from the standpoint of the petty-bourgeois Utopia of a peaceful capitalism, or from considerations of "justice for Ireland",[168] but from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the *oppressor*, *i.e.*, *British*, *nation* against capitalism. The freedom of *that* nation has been cramped and mutilated by the fact that it has oppressed another nation. The *British* proletariat's internationalism would remain a hypocritical phrase if *they* did not demand the separation of Ireland. Never in favour of petty states, or the splitting up of states in general, or the principle of federation, Marx considered the separation of an oppressed nation to be a step towards federation, and consequently, not towards a split, but towards concentration, both political and economic, but concentration on the basis of democracy. As Parabellum sees it, Marx was probably waging an "illusory struggle" in demanding separation for Ireland. Actually, however, this demand *alone* presented a consistently revolutionary programme; it alone was in accord with internationalism; it alone advocated concentration along *non*-imperialist lines.

The imperialism of our days has led to a situation in which the Great-Power oppression of nations has become general. The view that a struggle must be conducted against the social-chauvinism of the dominant nations, who are

now engaged in an imperialist war to enhance the oppression of nations, and are oppressing most of the world's nations and most of the earth's population—this view must be decisive, cardinal and basic in the national programme of Social-Democracy.

Take a glance at the present trends in Social-Democratic thinking on this subject. The petty-bourgeois Utopians, who dreamt of equality and peace among nations under capitalism, have been succeeded by the social-imperialists. In combating the former, Parabellum is tilting at windmills, thereby unwittingly playing in the hands of the social-imperialists. What is the social-chauvinists' programme on the national question?

They either entirely deny the right to self-determination, using arguments like those advanced by Parabellum (Cunow, Parvus, the Russian opportunists Semkovsky, Liebman, and others), or they recognise that right in a patently hypocritical fashion, namely, without applying it to those very nations that are oppressed by their own nation or by her military allies (Plekhanov, Hyndman, all the pro-French patriots, then Scheidemann, etc., etc.). The most plausible formulation of the social-chauvinist lie, one that is therefore most dangerous to the proletariat, is provided by Kautsky. In word, he is *in favour* of the self-determination of nations; in word, he is for the Social-Democratic Party "*die Selbständigkeit der Nationen allseitig* [!] *und rückhaltlos* [?] *achtet und fordert*"* (*Die Neue Zeit* No. 33, II, S. 241, May 21, 1915). *In deed*, however, he has adapted the national programme to the prevailing social-chauvinism, distorted and docked it; he gives no precise definition of the duties of the socialists in the oppressor nations, and patently falsifies the democratic principle itself when he says that to demand "state independence" (*staatliche Selbständigkeit*) for every nation would mean demanding "too much" ("*zu viel*", *Die Neue Zeit* No. 33, II, S. 77, April 16, 1915). "National autonomy", if you please, is enough! The principal question, the one the imperialist bourgeoisie will not permit discussion of, namely, the question of the

* "comprehensively [!] and unreservedly [?] respecting and demanding the independence of nations"—*Ed.*

boundaries of a state that is built upon the oppression of nations, is evaded by Kautsky, who, to please that bourgeoisie, has thrown out of the programme what is most essential. The bourgeoisie are ready to promise all the "national equality" and "national autonomy" you please, so long as the proletariat remain within the framework of legality and "peacefully" submit to them on the question of the state *boundaries*! Kautsky has formulated the national programme of Social-Democracy in a reformist, not a revolutionary manner.

Parabellum's national programme, or, to be more precise, his *assurances* that "we are against annexations", has the wholehearted backing of the *Parteivorstand*,* Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co., for the very reason that the programme does not expose the dominant social-patriots. Bourgeois pacifists would also endorse that programme. Parabellum's splendid *general* programme ("a revolutionary mass struggle against capitalism") serves him—as it did the Proudhonists of the sixties—not for the drawing up, in conformity with it and in its spirit, of a programme on the national question that is uncompromising and equally revolutionary, but in order to leave the way open to the social-patriots. In our imperialist times most socialists throughout the world are members of nations that oppress other nations and strive to extend that oppression. That is why our "struggle against annexations" will be meaningless and will not scare the social-patriots in the least, unless we declare that a socialist of an oppressor nation who does not conduct both peacetime and wartime propaganda in favour of freedom of secession for oppressed nations, is no socialist and no internationalist, but a chauvinist! The socialist of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda in defiance of government bans, i.e., in the free, i.e., in the illegal press, is a hypocritical advocate of equal rights for nations!

Parabellum has *only* a single sentence on Russia, which has not yet completed its bourgeois-democratic revolution:

"*Selbst das wirtschaftlich sehr zurückgebliebene Russland hat in der Haltung der Polnischen, Lettischen, Armeni-*

* The Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party—*Ed.*

schen Bourgeoisie gezeigt, dass nicht nur die militärische Bewachung es ist, die die Völker in diesem 'Zuchthaus der Völker' zusammenhält, sondern Bedürfnisse der kapitalistischen Expansion, für die das ungeheure Territorium ein glänzender Boden der Entwicklung ist."*

That is not a "Social-Democratic standpoint" but a liberal-bourgeois one, not an internationalist, but a Great-Russian chauvinist standpoint. Parabellum, who is such a fine fighter against the German social-patriots, seems to have little knowledge of Russian chauvinism. For Parabellum's wording to be converted into a Social-Democratic postulate and for Social-Democratic conclusions to be drawn from it, it should be modified and supplemented as follows:

Russia is a prison of peoples, not only because of the military-feudal character of tsarism and not only because the Great-Russian bourgeoisie support tsarism, but also because the Polish, etc., bourgeoisie have sacrificed the freedom of nations and democracy in general for the interests of capitalist expansion. The Russian proletariat cannot march at the head of the people towards a victorious democratic revolution (which is its immediate task), or fight alongside its brothers, the proletarians of Europe, for a socialist revolution, without immediately demanding, fully and "*rückhaltlos*",** for all nations oppressed by tsarism, the freedom to secede from Russia. This we demand, not independently of our revolutionary struggle for socialism, but because this struggle will remain a hollow phrase if it is not linked up with a revolutionary approach to all questions of democracy, including the national question. We demand freedom of self-determination, *i.e.*, independence, *i.e.*, freedom of secession for the oppressed nations, not because we have dreamt of splitting up the country economically, or of the ideal of small states, but, on the contrary, because we want large states and the closer unity and even fusion of

* "Even economically very backward Russia has proved, in the stand taken by the Polish, Lettish and Armenian bourgeoisie that it is not only the military guard that keeps together the peoples in that 'prison of peoples', but also the need for capitalist expansion, for which the vast territory is a splendid ground for development."—*Ed.*

** "unreservedly".—*Ed.*

nations, only on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is *inconceivable* without the freedom to secede. Just as Marx, in 1869, demanded the separation of Ireland, not for a split between Ireland and Britain, but for a subsequent free union between them, not so as to secure "justice for Ireland", but in the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the British proletariat, we in the same way consider the refusal of Russian socialists to demand freedom of self-determination for nations, in the sense we have indicated above, to be a direct betrayal of democracy, internationalism and socialism.

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ON THE TWO LINES IN THE REVOLUTION

In *Prizyv*[169] (No. 3), Mr. Plekhanov attempts to present the fundamental theoretical problem of the impending revolution in Russia. He quotes a passage from Marx to the effect that the 1789 Revolution in France followed an ascending line, whereas the 1848 Revolution followed a descending line. In the first instance, power passed gradually from the moderate party to the more radical—the Constitutionalists, the Girondists, the Jacobins. In the second instance, the reverse took place—the proletariat, the petty-bourgeois democrats, the bourgeois republicans, Napoleon III. "It is desirable," our author infers, "that the Russian revolution should be directed along an ascending line", i.e., that power should first pass to the Cadets and Octobrists, then to the Trudoviks, and then to the socialists. The conclusion to be drawn from this reasoning is, of course, that the Left wing in Russia is unwise in not wishing to support the Cadets and in prematurely discrediting them.

Mr. Plekhanov's "theoretical" reasoning is another example of the substitution of liberalism for Marxism. Mr. Plekhanov reduces the matter to the question of whether the "strategic conceptions" of the advanced elements were "right" or wrong. Marx's reasoning was different. He noted a fact: in each case the revolution proceeded in a different fashion; he did *not* however seek *the explanation* of this difference in "strategic conceptions". From the Marxist point of view it is ridiculous to seek it in conceptions. It should be sought in the difference in the *alignment of classes*. Marx himself wrote that in 1789 the French bourgeoisie united with the peasantry and that in 1848 petty-bourgeois democracy

betrayed the proletariat. Mr. Plekhanov knows Marx's opinion on the matter, but he does not mention it, because he wants to depict Marx as looking like Struve. In the France of 1789, it was a question of overthrowing absolutism and the nobility. At the then prevalent level of economic and political development, the bourgeoisie believed in a harmony of interests; it had no fears about the stability of its rule and was prepared to enter into an alliance with the peasantry. That alliance secured the complete victory of the revolution. In 1848 it was a question of the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie. The proletariat was unable to win over the petty bourgeoisie, whose treachery led to the defeat of the revolution. The ascending line of 1789 was a form of revolution in which the mass of the people defeated absolutism. The descending line of 1848 was a form of revolution in which the betrayal of the proletariat by the mass of the petty bourgeoisie led to the defeat of the revolution.

Mr. Plekhanov is substituting vulgar idealism for Marxism when he reduces the question to one of "strategic conceptions", not of the alignment of classes.

The experience of the 1905 Revolution and of the subsequent counter-revolutionary period in Russia teaches us that in our country *two* lines of revolution could be observed, in the sense that there was a struggle between two classes—the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie—for leadership of the masses. The proletariat advanced in a revolutionary fashion, and was leading the democratic peasantry towards the overthrow of the monarchy and the landowners. That the peasantry revealed revolutionary tendencies in the democratic sense was proved on a *mass* scale by *all* the great political events: the peasant insurrections of 1905-06, the unrest in the army in the same years, the "Peasants' Union" of 1905, and the first two Dumas, in which the *peasant* Trudoviks stood not only "to the left of the Cadets", *but were also more revolutionary* than the intellectual *Social-Revolutionaries* and Trudoviks. Unfortunately, this is often forgotten, but still it is a fact. Both in the Third and in the Fourth Dumas the *peasant* Trudoviks, despite their weakness, showed that the peasant masses were *opposed* to the landed proprietors.

The first line of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution, as deduced from the facts and not from "strategic" prattle, was marked by a resolute struggle of the proletariat, which was irresolutely followed by the peasantry. Both these classes fought against the monarchy and the landowners. The lack of strength and resolution in these classes led to their defeat (although a partial breach was made in the edifice of the autocracy).

The behaviour of the liberal bourgeoisie was the second line. We Bolsheviks have always affirmed, especially since the spring of 1906, that this line was represented by the Cadets and Octobrists as a *single* force. The 1905-15 decade has proved the correctness of our view. At the decisive moments of the struggle, the Cadets, together with the Octobrists, betrayed democracy and went to the aid of the tsar and the landowners. The "liberal" line of the Russian revolution was marked by the "pacification" and the fragmentary character of the masses' struggle so as to enable the bourgeoisie to make peace with the monarchy. The international background to the Russian revolution and the strength of the Russian proletariat rendered this behaviour of the liberals inevitable.

The Bolsheviks helped the proletariat consciously to follow the first line, to fight with supreme courage and to lead the peasants. The Mensheviks were constantly slipping into the second line; they demoralised the proletariat by adapting its movement to the liberals—from the invitation to enter the Bulygin Duma (August 1905), to the Cadet Cabinet in 1906 and the bloc with the Cadets *against* democracy in 1907. (From Mr. Plekhanov's point of view, we will observe parenthetically, the "correct strategic conceptions" of the Cadets and the Mensheviks suffered A defeat at the time. Why was that? Why did the masses not pay heed to the wise counsels of Mr. Plekhanov and the Cadets, which were publicised a hundred times more extensively than the advice from the Bolsheviks?)

Only these trends—the Bolshevik and the Menshevik—manifested themselves in the politics of the *masses* in 1904-08, and later, in 1908-14. Why was that? It was because only these trends had firm class roots—the former in the proletariat, the latter in the liberal bourgeoisie.

Today we are again advancing towards a revolution. Everybody sees that. *Khvostov himself* says that the mood of the peasants is reminiscent of 1905-06. And again we see the *same* two lines in the revolution, the *same* alignment of classes, only modified by a changed international situation. In 1905, the entire European bourgeoisie supported tsarism and helped it either with their thousands of millions (the French), or by training a counter-revolutionary army (the Germans). In 1914 the European war flared up. Everywhere the bourgeoisie vanquished the proletariat for a time, and swept them into the turbid spate of nationalism and chauvinism. In Russia, as hitherto, the petty-bourgeois masses of the people, primarily the peasantry, form the majority of the population. They are oppressed first and foremost by the landowners. Politically, part of the peasantry are dormant, and part vacillate between chauvinism ("the defeat of Germany", "defence of the fatherland") and revolutionary spirit. The political spokesmen of these masses—and of their vacillation—are, on the one hand, the Narodniks (the Trudoviks and Social-Revolutionaries), and on the other hand, the opportunist Social-Democrats (*Nashe Dyelo*, Plekhanov, the Chkheidze group, the Organising Committee), who since 1910, have been determinedly following the road of liberal-labour politics, and in 1915 have achieved the social-chauvinism of Potresov, Cherevanin, Levitsky, and Maslov, or have demanded "unity" with them.

This state of affairs patently indicates the task of the proletariat. That task is the waging of a supremely courageous revolutionary struggle against the monarchy (utilising the slogans of the January Conference of 1912, the "three pillars"), a struggle that will sweep along in its wake all the democratic masses, i.e., mainly the peasantry. At the same time, the proletariat must wage a ruthless struggle against chauvinism, a struggle in alliance with the *European* proletariat for the socialist revolution in Europe. The vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie is no accident; it is inevitable, for it logically follows from their class stand. The war crisis has *strengthened* the economic and political factors that are impelling the petty bourgeoisie, including the peasantry, to the left. Herein lies the objective foundation of the full possibility of victory for the democratic

revolution in Russia. There is no need here for us to prove that the objective conditions in Western Europe are ripe for a socialist revolution; this was admitted before the war by all influential socialists in all advanced countries.

To bring clarity into the alignment of classes in the impending revolution is the main task of a revolutionary party. This task is being shirked by the Organising Committee, which within Russia remains a faithful ally to *Nashe Dyelo*, and abroad utters meaningless "Left" phrases. This task is being wrongly tackled in *Nashe Slovo* by Trotsky, who is repeating his "original" 1905 theory and refuses to give some thought to the reason why, in the course of ten years, life has been bypassing this splendid theory.

From the Bolsheviks Trotsky's original theory has borrowed their call for a decisive proletarian revolutionary struggle and for the conquest of political power by the proletariat, while from the Mensheviks it has borrowed "repudiation" of the peasantry's role. The peasantry, he asserts, are divided into strata, have become differentiated; their potential revolutionary role has dwindled more and more; in Russia a "national" revolution is impossible; "we are living in the era of imperialism," says Trotsky, and "imperialism does not contrapose the bourgeois nation to the old regime, but the proletariat to the bourgeois nation."

Here we have an amusing example of playing with the word "imperialism". If, *in Russia*, the proletariat already stands contraposed to the "bourgeois nation", then Russia is facing a *socialist* revolution (!), and the slogan "Confiscate the landed *estates*" (repeated by Trotsky in 1915, following the January Conference of 1912), is incorrect; in that case we must speak, not of a "revolutionary workers'" government, but of a "workers' *socialist*" government! The length Trotsky's muddled thinking goes to is evident from his phrase that by their resoluteness the proletariat will attract the "*non*-proletarian [!] popular masses" as well (No. 217)! Trotsky has not realised that if the proletariat induce the non-proletarian masses to confiscate the landed estates and overthrow the monarchy, then that will be the consummation of the "national bourgeois revolution" in Russia; it will be a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry!

A whole decade—the great decade of 190-15—has shown the existence of two and only two class lines in the Russian revolution. The differentiation of the peasantry has enhanced the class struggle within them; it has aroused very many hitherto politically dormant elements. It has drawn the rural proletariat closer to the urban proletariat (the Bolsheviks have insisted ever since 1906 that the former should be *separately* organised, and they included this demand in the resolution of the Menshevik congress in Stockholm). However, the antagonism between the peasantry, on the one hand, and the Markovs, Romanovs and Khvostovs, on the other, has become stronger and more acute. This is such an obvious truth that not *even* the thousands of phrases in scores of Trotsky's Paris articles will "refute" it. Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal-labour politicians in Russia, who by "repudiation" of the role of the peasantry understand a *refusal* to raise up the peasants for the revolution!

That is the crux of the matter today. The proletariat are fighting, and will fight valiantly, to win power, for a republic, for the confiscation of the land, *i.e.*, to win over the peasantry, make *full* use of their revolutionary powers, and get the "*non*-proletarian masses of the people" to take part in liberating *bourgeois* Russia from *military-feudal* "imperialism" (tsarism). The proletariat will at once utilise this ridding of bourgeois Russia of tsarism and the rule of the landowners, not to aid the rich peasants in their struggle against the rural workers, but to bring about the socialist revolution in alliance with the proletarians of Europe.

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AT THE UTTERMOST LIMIT

The transformation of individuals from radical Social-Democrats and revolutionary Marxists into social-chauvinists is a phenomenon common to all the belligerents. The spate of chauvinism is so overwhelming that on all sides it has carried along with it a number of Left-wing Social-Democrats who are spineless or have outlived themselves. Parvus, who showed himself to be an adventurer as far back as the Russian revolution, has now really reached the uttermost limit, this in his little magazine, *Die Glocke*[170]. With an incredibly brazen air of self-satisfaction, he has taken the German opportunists under his wing. He flouts the beliefs he once cherished, and has forgotten the struggle between the revolutionary and the opportunist trends, and their history in the international Social-Democratic movement. With the bounce of a columnist confident of the bourgeoisie's approval, he pats Marx on the shoulder, "correcting" him, without a vestige of conscientious or attentive criticism. He treats a certain Engels with undisguised contempt, and defends Britain's pacifists and internationalists and Germany's nationalists and jingoists. Rebuking the British social-patriots, whom he calls chauvinists and toadies to the bourgeoisie, he at the same time lauds the German social-patriots as revolutionary Social-Democrats and exchanges embraces with Lensch, Haenisch, Grunwald. He fawns upon Hindenburg, assuring his readers that "the German General Staff has taken a stand for a revolution in Russia", and publishing servile paeans to this "embodiment of the German people's soul", its "mighty revolutionary sentiment". He promises Germany a painless transition to socialism through an alliance between the

conservatives and part of the socialists, and through "bread ration cards". Like the petty coward he is, he condescendingly semi-approves of the Zimmerwald Conference, pretending not to have noticed in its manifesto the expressions directed against all shades of social-chauvinism, from the Parvus and Plekhanov variety, to that of Kolb and Kautsky.

In all six issues of his little journal there is not a single honest thought or earnest argument or sincere article. It is nothing but a cesspool of German chauvinism covered over with a coarsely painted signboard, which alleges it represents the interests of the Russian revolution! It is perfectly natural for this cesspool to come in for praise from such opportunists as Kolb and the editors of the *Chemnitz Volksstimme*.[171]

Mr. Parvus has the effrontery to publicly declare it his "mission" "to serve as an ideological link between the armed German proletariat and the revolutionary Russian proletariat". It is enough to expose this clownish phrase to the ridicule of the Russian workers. If *Prizyv* of Messrs. Plekhanov, Bunakov and Co. has won full approval from the chauvinists and the Khvostovs in Russia, then Mr. Parvus's *Die Glocke* is the organ of apostasy and grovelling flunkeyism in Germany.

In this connection another useful aspect of the present war should be noted. Not only are its quick-firing guns killing opportunism and anarchism, but the war itself is stripping the mask off the adventurers and renegades of socialism. It is to the proletariat's advantage that history has started this preliminary purge of its movement on the eve of the socialist revolution, not during its course.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 48,
November 20, 1915

Published according to
the text in *Sotsial-Demokrat*

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE[172]

Dear Comrades!*

We are extremely glad to get your leaflet. Your appeal to the members of the Socialist Party to struggle for a new International, for clear-cut revolutionary socialism as taught by Marx and Engels, and against the opportunism, especially against those who are in favor of working class participation in a war of defence, corresponds fully with the position our party (Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia, *Central Committee*) has taken from the beginning of this war and has always taken during more than ten years.

We send you our sincerest greetings & best wishes of success in our fight for true internationalism.

In our press & in our propaganda we differ from your programme in several points & we think it is quite necessary that we expose you briefly these points in order to make immediate & serious steps for the coordination of the international strife of the incompromisingly revolutionary Socialists especially Marxists in all countries.

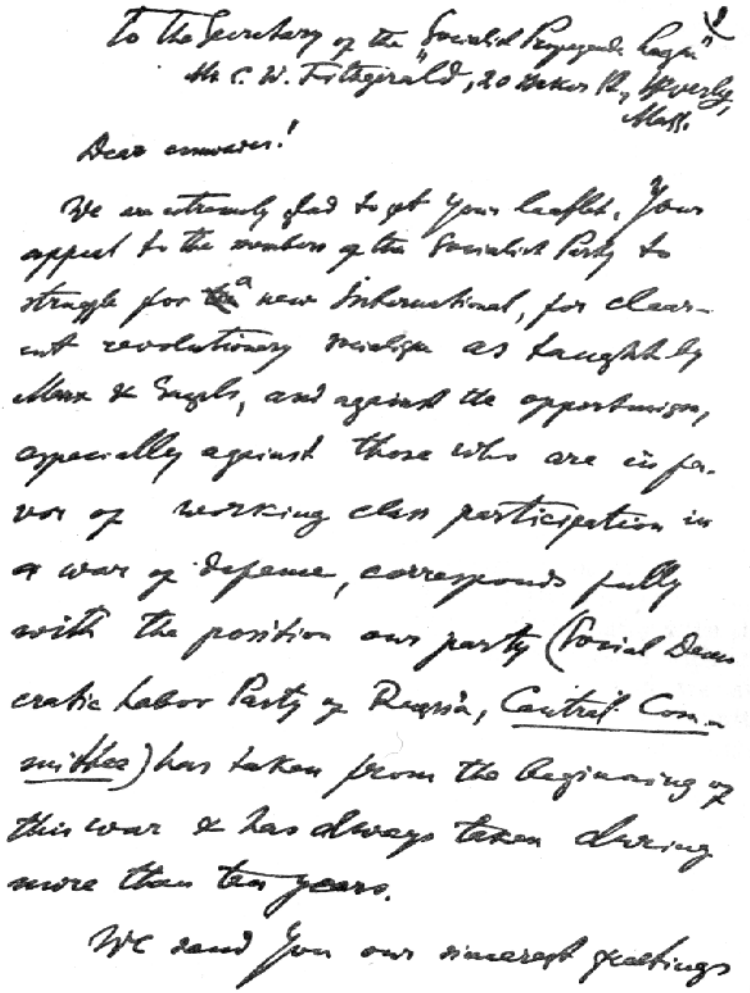
We criticise in the most severe manner the old, Second (1889-1914) International, we declare it dead & not worth to be restored on old basis. But we never say in our press that too great emphasis has been heretofore placed upon so-called "Immediate Demands", and that thereby the socialism can be diluted: we say & we prove that all bourgeois parties, all parties except the working-class revolutionary Party, are liars & hypocrites when they speak about reforms. We try to help the working class to get the smallest possible but

* This letter was written by Lenin in English.—*Ed.*

real improvement (economic & political) in their situation & we add always that *no* reform can be durable, sincere, serious if not seconded by revolutionary methods of struggle of the masses. We preach always that a socialist party not uniting this struggle for reforms with the revolutionary methods of working-class movement can become a sect, can be severed from the masses, & that that is the most pernicious menace to the success of the clear-cut revolutionary socialism.

We defend always in our press the democracy in the party. But we never speak against the centralization of the party. We are for the democratic centralism. We say that the centralization of the German Labor movement is not a feeble but a strong and good feature of it. The vice of the present Social-Democratic Party of Germany consists not in the centralization but in the preponderance of the opportunists, which should be excluded from the party especially now after their treacherous conduct in the war. If in any given crisis the small group (for instance our Central Committee is a small group) can act for directing the mighty mass *in a revolutionary direction*, it would be very good. And in *all* crises the masses can not act immediately, the masses want to be helped by the small groups of the central institutions of the parties. Our Central Committee quite at the beginning of this war, in September 1914, has directed the masses not to accept the lie about "the war of defence" & to break off with the opportunists & the "would-be-socialists-jingoes" (we call so the "Socialists" who are *now* in favor of the war of defence). We think that this centralistic measure of our Central Committee was useful & necessary.

We agree with you that we must be against craft Unionism & in favor of industrial Unionism, i.e. of big, centralized Trade Unions & in favor of the most active participation of *all* members of party in *all* economic struggles & in *all* trade union & cooperative organizations of the working class. But we consider that such people as Mr. Legien in Germany & Mr. Gompers in the U. St. are bourgeois and that their policy is not a socialist but a nationalistic, middle class policy. Mr. Legien, Mr. Gompers & similar persons are not the representatives of working class, they represent the aristocracy & bureaucracy of the working class.



To the Secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League
Mr C. W. Fitzgerald, 20 Baker St, Beverly, Mass.

Dear comrades!

We are extremely glad to get your leaflet, your appeal to the workers of the American Party to struggle for the new International, for clear-cut revolutionary tactics as taught by Marx & Engels, and against the opportunism, especially against those who are in favor of working class participation in a war of defence, corresponds fully with the position our party (Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, Central Committee) has taken from the beginning of this war & has always taken during more than ten years.

We send you our sincerest greetings

First page of Lenin's letter to the Secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League. November 1915 (in English)
Reduced

First page of Lenin's letter to the Secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League. November 1915 (in English)
Reduced

We entirely sympathize with you when in political action you claim the "mass action" of the workers. The German revolutionary & internationalist Socialists claim it also. In our press we try to define with more details what must be understood by political mass action, as f. i. political strikes (very usual in Russia), street demonstrations and civil war prepared by the present imperialist war between nations.

We do not preach unity in the *present* (prevailing in the Second International) socialist parties. On the contrary we preach *secession* with the opportunists. The war is the best object-lesson. In *all* countries the opportunists, their leaders, their most influential dailies & reviews are *for* the war, in other words, they have in reality *united* with "their" national bourgeoisie (middle class, capitalists) against the proletarian masses. You say, that in America there are also Socialists who have expressed themselves in favor of the participation in a war of defence. We are convinced, that unity with such men is an evil. *Such* unity is unity with the national middle class & capitalists, and a *division* with the international revolutionary working class. And we are for secession with nationalistic opportunists and unity with international revolutionary Marxists & working-class parties.

We never object in our press to the unity of S.P. & S.L.P. in America.[173] We always quote letters from Marx & Engels (especially to Sorge, active member of American socialist movement), where both condemn the sectarian character of the S.L.P.

We fully agree with you in your criticism of the old International. We have participated in the conference of Zimmerwald (Switzerland) 5-8.IX. 1915. We have formed there a *left wing*, and have proposed *our resolution* & our draught of a manifesto. We have just published these documents in German & I send them to you (with the German translation of our small book about "Socialism & War"), hoping that in your League there are probably comrades, that know German. If you could help us to publish these things in English (it is possible only in America and later on we should send it to England), we would gladly accept your help.

In our struggle for true internationalism & against "jingo-socialism" we always quote in our press the example of the opportunist leaders of the S.P. in America, who are in favor of restrictions of the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers (especially after the Congress of Stuttgart, 1907, & *against* the decisions of Stuttgart). We think that one can not be internationalist & be at the same time in favor of such restrictions. And we assert that Socialists in America, especially English Socialists, belonging to the ruling, and *oppressing* nation, who are not against any restrictions of immigration, against the possession of colonies (Hawaii) and for the entire freedom of colonies, that such Socialists are in reality jingoes.

For conclusion I repeat once more best greetings & wishes for your League. We should be very glad to have a further information from you & to *unite* our struggle against opportunism & for the true internationalism.

Yours *N. Lenin*

N.B. There are *two* Soc.-Dem. parties in Russia. Our party ("*Central* Committee") is against opportunism. The other party ("*Organization* Committee") is opportunist. We are *against* the unity with them.

You can write to our official address (Bibliothèque russe. For the C. K. 7 rue Hugo de Senger. 7. Geneve. Switzerland). But better write to my personal address: Wl. Ulianow. Seidenweg 4a, III *Berne*. Switzerland.

Written in English before November 9 (23), 1915

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Published according to the manuscript

SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST POLICY BEHIND A COVER OF INTERNATIONALIST PHRASES

How are political facts related to political literature, political events to political slogans, and political reality to political ideology? This question is now of fundamental significance for an understanding of the entire crisis of the International, since any crisis, even any turning point, in a development inevitably leads to a discrepancy between the old form and the new content. We say nothing of the fact that bourgeois society is continually producing politicians who love to assert they belong to no class, and opportunists who love to call themselves socialists, both of whom deliberately and systematically deceive the masses with the most florid and "radical" words. In times of crisis, however, even well-meaning participants therein very often reveal a discrepancy between word and deed. The great and progressive significance of all crises, even the gravest, most arduous and painful, lies in the tremendous speed, force and clarity with which they expose and sweep aside rotten phrases, even if well meaning, and rotten institutions even if they are built on the best of intentions.

The outstanding fact in the life of Russian Social-Democracy today is the elections of St. Petersburg workers to the war industries committees. For the first time during the war, these elections have drawn *masses* of the proletarians into a discussion and solution of basic problems of present-day politics; they have revealed the real picture of the *state of affairs* within Social-Democracy as a mass party. What has been revealed is that there are two currents and only two: one is revolutionary and internationalist,

genuinely proletarian, organised by our Party, and *against defence* of the fatherland; the other is the "*defence*" or social-chauvinist current, a bloc of the *Nashe Dyelo* people (i.e., the backbone of the liquidators), the Plekhanovites, Narodniks and non-partisans, this bloc being backed by the entire bourgeois press and all the Black Hundreds in Russia, which proves the bourgeois and non-proletarian essence of the bloc's policy.

Such are the facts, the reality. But what about slogans and ideology? The St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Utro* No. 2 (October 22),[174] the collection of articles issued by the Organising Committee crowd (*The International and War* No. 1, November 30, 1915), and the latest issues of *Nashe Slovo* provide an answer which should give food for hard thinking by anyone interested in politics in a way different from the interest Gogol's Petrushka[175] took in reading.

Let us examine the content and significance of *this* ideology.

The St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Utro* is the most important document. It is here that the leaders of liquidationism and social-chauvinism get together with Mr. Gvozdev, the informer. Those people know well what preceded the September 27 elections, and what took place at the elections. They were able to throw a veil over their bloc with the Plekhanovites, the Narodniks and non-partisans, and they did so. They said not a word about the bloc's significance, or about the relative *numerical strength* of its various elements. It was to their advantage to conceal such a "trifle" (Mr. Gvozdev and his *Rabocheye Utro* friends undoubtedly possessed the relevant information), and they concealed it. But even they were unable to invent a *third* group apart from the Ninety and the Eighty-one. It is impossible to lie on the spot, in St. Petersburg, in face of the workers, by trumping up a "third" group, fiction about which comes from an "anonymous contributor in Copenhagen"[176] writing in the German press and *Nashe Slovo*. This is impossible, because sane people will never lie if they know that they cannot escape summary exposure. That is why *Rabocheye Utro* has published the article by K. Oransky[177] (an old acquaintance!) entitled "Two Stands", in which he gives a detailed analysis of the stands taken by the Ninety and the Eighty-

one groups, without saying a word about the third stand. We shall note, in passing, that the censor mutilated issue No. 2 of *Rabocheye Utro* almost throughout; there are almost more blank columns than printed ones, but of the articles only two were spared: "Two Stands", and another which distorts in the spirit of liberalism the history of 1905; in both the Bolsheviks were abused for "anarchism" and "boycottism". It is to the tsarist government's *advantage* that such things should be written and published! It is not fortuitous that this kind of writing enjoys the monopoly of legality everywhere, from despotic Russia to republican France!

What, then, are the arguments used by *Rabocheye Utro* to defend its stand of "defence of the country" or "social-chauvinism"? These are, without exception, examples of evasion and of internationalist phrases! Our stand, they assert, is not at all "national", not at all in favour of "defence"; we are merely expressing "what is not at all expressed in the attitude of the first group" (the Ninety group), viz., a "not indifferent attitude to the state of the country", to its "salvation" "from defeat and ruin". Our stand, they claim, has been "genuinely internationalist", while showing the methods and means of "liberating" the country, we were "in agreement [with the first stand!] in appraising the origin of the war and its socio-political substance", we were "in agreement [with the first stand!] in posing the general problem of the international organisation and international work of the proletariat [all this is in dead earnest!] and of democracy in wartime, during literally all periods of the development of the world conflict". We declared in our instructions, they say, that, "in the present socio-political circumstances, the working class cannot assume any responsibility for the defence of the fatherland"; we, "firmly identified ourselves, in the first place, with the international tasks of democracy", and "made our contribution to the current of aspirations whose milestones were Copenhagen and Zimmerwald". (That's the kind of people we are!) We stand, they claim, for the slogan of "peace *without annexations*" (italics in *Rabocheye Utro*); "to the abstract nature and the cosmopolitan anarchism of the first current, we have counterposed the realism and internationalism of our stand and our tactics".

Each of these claims is a gem, to say the least. Besides ignorance and Repetilov-like[178] lying, however, all these gems contain a diplomacy that is perfectly sober and correct from the bourgeois point of view. To influence the workers, the bourgeois must assume the guise of socialists, Social-Democrats, internationalists, and the like, for otherwise they can exert no influence. The *Rabocheye Utro* group disguise themselves; they apply plenty of paint and powder, prettify themselves, cast sheep eyes all around, and go the limit! They are ready to sign the Zimmerwald Manifesto a hundred times (a slap in the face for those Zimmerwaldists who signed the Manifesto without combating its timidity or making reservations!) or any other resolution on the imperialist nature of the war, or take any oath of allegiance to "internationalism" and "revolutionism" ("liberation of the country" in the censored press being the equivalent of "revolution" in the underground press), if only—if only they are not prevented from calling upon the workers to participate in the war industries committees, i.e., *in practice* to participate in the reactionary war of plunder ("a war of defence").

Only this is action; all the rest is words. Only this is reality; all the rest is phrases. *Only this is needed* by the police, by the tsarist monarchy, Khvostov and the bourgeoisie. The clever bourgeois in countries that are cleverer are more tolerant of internationalist and socialist phrases if only participation in defence is assured, as is evidenced by comment in the French reactionary press regarding the London Conference of the socialists of the "Triple Entente". With the socialist gentry, one of these papers said, it's a kind of *tic douloureux*, a species of nervous malady which forces people involuntarily to repeat the same gesture, the same muscular movement, the same word. It is for that reason, the paper said, that "our own" socialists cannot speak about anything without repeating the words, "We are internationalists; we stand for social revolution". This is not dangerous, the bourgeois paper concludes, only a "tic"; what is important to "us" is their stand *for the defence* of the country.

That is how the clever French and British bourgeois reason. If participation in a war of plunder is defended with phrases about democracy, socialism, etc., is this not to

the advantage of rapacious governments, the imperialist bourgeoisie? Is it not to the master's advantage to keep a lackey who swears to all and sundry that his master loves them, and has dedicated his life to their welfare?

The *Rabocheye Utro* people swear by Zimmerwald, and in *word* separate themselves from the Plekhanovites by declaring (No. 2) that they "disagree in many things" with them; *in practice*, however, they agree with them *on the fundamentals*, *participate* with them and with their bourgeoisie, in the "defence" institutions of the chauvinist bourgeoisie.

The Organising Committee not only swear by Zimmerwald, but "sign" formal declarations; they not only stand aside from the Plekhanovites, but also delegate a certain anonymous A. M.,[179] who, sheltering behind his anonymity, declares: "We, who have adhered to the August bloc[180] [perhaps A. M. is not one, but two "adherents"?], consider it necessary to state that the *Prizyv* organisation has greatly exceeded the limits which can be tolerated in our Party, as we understand them, and that there can be no room within the August bloc organisations for members of groups that are bolstering *Prizyv*". What bold people these "adhering" A. M.s are, who so unflinchingly speak the naked truth!

Of the five persons comprising the "Secretariat Abroad" of the Organising Committee, which has published the collection of articles quoted, none wished to come out with so courageous a statement! It follows that the five secretaries are against a break with Plekhanov (not so very long ago Axelrod said that the Menshevik Plekhanov was closer to him than the internationalist Bolsheviks) but, afraid of the workers and unwilling to injure their "reputations", they prefer to keep it dark; however, they have put forward a couple of anonymous "adherents" so as to make a splash with a cheap and safe internationalism....

On the one hand, some of the secretaries—Martynov, Martov and Astrov—have engaged *Nashe Dyelo* in a polemic, Martov even coming out with a private opinion opposed to participation in the war industries committees. On the other hand, the Bundist Yonov, who considers himself "Left" of Kosovsky—a man who reflects the Bund's actual policy—is willingly advanced by the Bundists to cover up their nationalism; he advocates the "further development of the

old tactics [of the Second International, which led to its collapse] but by no means its liquidation". The editors have supplied Yonov's article with ambiguous, vapid and diplomatically evasive reservations, but they do not object to its *substance*, to a defence of the rotten and opportunist in the "old tactics". The anonymous A. M.s, who have "adhered" to the August bloc, openly *defend Nasha Zarya*; even if it did "deviate" from the internationalist stand, yet it "rejected [?] the *Burgfrieden* policy for Russia; it recognised the necessity of immediately re-establishing international links and, to the best of our knowledge [i.e., of the adhering anonymous A. M.s], it approved of Mankov's expulsion from the Duma group". An excellent defence! The petty-bourgeois Narodniks favour the re-establishment of links, Kerensky is opposed to Mankov, but to say that those who have come out in favour of "non-resistance to the war" are opposed to a policy of a class truce (*Burgfrieden*) means deceiving the workers with empty words.

The editors of the Organising Committee's journal have come out in a body with an article entitled "Dangerous Tendencies". This is a model of political evasiveness! On the one hand, here are clamorous Left phrases against the authors of calls for defence of the country (i.e., the Moscow and Petrograd social-chauvinists); on the other hand, they write: "*It is difficult to judge which party circles both declarations emanated from*"*!* In reality, there is not the slightest doubt that they emanated "*from the circles*" of *Nashe Dyelo*, although the contributors to this legally published journal are, of course, not guilty of having drawn up an underground declaration. Instead of dealing with the ideological roots of these declarations, and with the full identity between these roots and the liquidationist, social-chauvinist and *Nashe Dyelo trends*, the Organising Committee crowd have busied themselves with a ridiculous pettifogging that is of no value for anybody but the police, namely, the *personal* authorship of members of one *circle* or another. On the one hand, the editors bluster out threats: we internationalists of the August bloc, they say, will close our ranks for "the most energetic resistance to defence tendencies" (p. 129), for "an uncompromising struggle" (p. 126); on the other hand, we find right next to such declarations the following piece

of skulduggery: "The line of the Duma group, which has the support of the Organising Committee, has met [hitherto!] with no open opposition" (p. 129)!

As the authors themselves are well aware, this line consists in an absence of any line, and is a covert defence of *Nashe Dyelo* and *Rabocheye Utro*.

Take the most "Left" and the most "principled" article in the collection, the one written by Martov. It will suffice to quote a single sentence expressing the author's main idea, to see what his adherence to principles is like. "It is self-evident," he writes, "that if the present crisis should lead to the victory of a democratic revolution, to a republic, then the character of the war would radically change" (p. 116). All this is a shameless lie. Martov could not but have known that a democratic revolution and a republic mean a bourgeois-democratic revolution and a bourgeois-democratic republic. The character of this war between the bourgeois *and imperialist* Great Powers would not change *a jot* were the military-autocratic and feudal imperialism to be swept away in one of these countries. That is because, in such conditions, a purely bourgeois imperialism would not vanish, but would only *gain strength*. It is for that reason that our paper, issue No. 47, declared, in Thesis 9,* that the party of Russia's proletariat will not defend, in the present war, even a fatherland of republicans and revolutionaries, whilst they are chauvinists like Plekhanov, the Narodniks, Kautsky, the *Nashe Dyelo* people, Chkheidze, the Organising Committee, etc.

Martov's evasive phrase in a footnote to p. 118 will do him no good. Here, in contradiction to what he says, on p. 116, he "doubts" whether bourgeois democracy can fight "against international imperialism" (of course it cannot); he expresses "doubt" whether the bourgeoisie will not turn a 1793 republic into a Gambetta and Clemenceau republic. Here the basic theoretical error remains: in 1793 the foremost class in a French *bourgeois* revolution fought against European *pre-revolutionary* monarchies, whereas the Russia of 1915 is fighting, not more backward countries, but more advanced countries, which are on the eve of a *socialist*

* See p. 403 of this volume.—*Ed.*

revolution. It follows that, in the war of 1914-15, only a proletariat that is carrying out a victorious socialist revolution, can play the part of the Jacobins of 1793. Consequently, in the present war, the Russian proletariat could "defend the fatherland" and consider "the character of the war radically changed", only and exclusively *if* the revolution were to put the party of the proletariat in power, and were to permit only that party to guide the entire force of a revolutionary upheaval and the entire machinery of state towards an instant and direct conclusion of an alliance with the socialist proletariat of Germany and Europe (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47, Thesis 11).*

Martov concludes his article, in which he juggles with sonorous phrases, by dramatically appealing to "Russian Social-Democracy" to "take a clear-cut revolutionary-internationalist stand at the outset of the political crisis". The reader who wants to find out whether these dramatic words do not conceal something rotten at the core should ask himself what a political stand is usually taken to mean. It means (1) bringing forward a formulated appraisal of the moment and the tactics to be used, and a series of resolutions, all this on behalf of an organisation (at least on behalf of a "quintet of secretaries"); (2) advancing a militant slogan for the current moment; (3) linking up these two points with *action* by the proletarian *masses* and their class-conscious vanguard Martov and Axelrod, the ideological leaders of the "quintet", have not only failed to do any of these three things, but on all of these points have given practical *support to the social-chauvinists*, have shielded them! During the sixteen months of war, the five secretaries abroad have not taken a "clear-cut stand", or any stand at all on the question of programme and tactics. Martov vacillates now to the left, now to the right. Axelrod's urge is only to the right (see his German pamphlet particularly). Here there is nothing clear, formulated or organised, no stand whatever! "The central militant slogan for the Russian proletariat at the current moment," Martov writes in his own name, "must be a national constituent assembly for the liquidation of both tsarism and the war." This is neither a central nor a militant slogan.

* See pp. 403-04 of this volume.—*Ed.*

It is quite useless because it does not reveal the basic social and class content, or the clear-cut political content of the concept of this dual "liquidation". It is a cheap bourgeois-democratic phrase, not a central, or militant, or proletarian slogan.

Finally, on the main issue, i.e., connections with the *masses* in Russia, what Martov and Co. have to offer, is not merely a zero, but a negative quantity. They have nothing and nobody behind them. The elections have shown that only the bourgeoisie's bloc with *Rabocheye Utro* has some of the masses behind it, whereas reference to the Organising Committee and the Chkheidze group means only shielding that bourgeois bloc with falsehoods.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 49,
December 21, 1915

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the text in *Sotsial-Demokrat*

OPPORTUNISM, AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

It is instructive to compare the attitudes of the various classes and parties towards the collapse of the International, which has been revealed by the 1914-15 war. On one hand, the bourgeoisie extols to the sky those socialists who have expressed themselves in favour of "defending the fatherland", i.e., in favour of the war and of aiding the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie's more outspoken or less diplomatic representatives are expressing malicious joy over the collapse of the International, the collapse of the "illusions" of socialism. Among socialists who are "defending the fatherland" there are also two shades: the "extremists" like the Germans W. Kolb and W. Heine, who admit the collapse of the International, for which they blame the "revolutionary illusions"; these are out to restore a *still more* opportunist International. In practice, however, they agree with the "moderates", the cautious socialist "defenders of the fatherland", such as Kautsky, Renaudel, and Vandervelde, who stubbornly deny that the International has collapsed, consider it merely suspended temporarily, and defend the Second International's viability and right to exist. Revolutionary Social-Democrats in the various countries recognise the collapse of the Second International and the need to create a Third International.

To decide who is right, let us examine an historic document which bears upon the present war, and carries the unanimous and official signatures of *all* socialist parties in the world. That document is the Basle Manifesto of 1912. Noteworthy enough, no socialist would, in theory, dare deny the need for a concretely historical analysis of every war.

Today, however, none but the "Left" Social-Democrats, who are but few in number, would be so bold as to publicly and definitely repudiate the Basle Manifesto, or declare it erroneous, or analyse it carefully, comparing its decisions with the conduct of the socialists after the outbreak of the war.

Why is that so? It is because the Basle Manifesto ruthlessly exposes the wrong reasoning and conduct of the majority of official socialists. There is *not a single word* in this Manifesto on either the "defence of the fatherland" or the difference between a war of aggression and a war of defence! *Not a syllable* on a subject the official S.D. leaders both in Germany and in the Quadruple Entente have been talking and vociferating about most. In a perfectly clear, precise, and definite manner, the Basle Manifesto analyses the concrete clashes of interests which led towards war in 1912 and brought about war in 1914. The Manifesto says that these are clashes arising on the basis of "capitalist imperialism", clashes between Austria and Russia for domination over the Balkans, clashes between Britain, France, and Germany over their "policies of conquest in Asia Minor" (the policies of *all of them!*), clashes between Austria and Italy over their attempt to "draw Albania into their sphere of influence", subject her to their "rule", and clashes between Britain and Germany because of their mutual "antagonism", and further, because of "tsarism's attempts to grab Armenia, Constantinople, etc." It will be seen that this applies in full to the present war. The undisguised predatory, imperialist and reactionary character of this war, which is being waged for the enslavement of nations, is most clearly recognised in the Manifesto, which draws the necessary conclusion that war "cannot be justified on the slightest pretext of being in the least in the interests of the people", that war is prepared "for the sake of the profits of capitalists and ambitions of dynasties", and that on the part of the workers it would be "a crime to fire at one another".

These propositions contain the fundamentals for an understanding of the radical distinction between two great historical periods. One was the period between 1789 and 1871, when, in most cases, wars in Europe were indubitably connected with the *most important* "interests of the people", namely, a powerful bourgeois-progressive movement for

national liberation which involved millions of people, with the destruction of feudalism, absolutism, and foreign oppression. It was on this basis alone that there arose the concept of "defence of the fatherland", defence of a bourgeois nation that is liberating itself from medievalism. Only in this sense did socialists recognise "defence of the fatherland". Even today it must be recognised *in this sense*; for instance, the defence of Persia or China against Russia or Britain, of Turkey against Germany or Russia, of Albania against Austria and Italy, etc.

The 1914-15 war, as clearly expressed in the Basle Manifesto, pertains to an entirely different historical period and is of an entirely different character. This is a war among predators for division of the loot, for the enslavement of other countries. Victory for Russia, Britain, and France means the strangulation of Armenia, Asia Minor, etc.—this is *stated* in the Basle Manifesto. Germany's victory means the strangulation of Asia Minor, Serbia, Albania, etc. This is *stated* in the selfsame Manifesto, and has been recognised by all socialists! All phrases about a war of defence or about the defence of the fatherland by the Great Powers (i.e., the great predators), who are fighting for world domination, markets and "spheres of influence", and the enslavement of nations, are false, meaningless and hypocritical! It is not surprising that "socialists" who are in favour of defending the fatherland *are afraid* to recall or to exactly quote the Basle Manifesto, for it *exposes* their hypocrisy. The Basle Manifesto *proves* that socialists who stand for the "defence of the fatherland" in the 1914-15 war are socialists only in word and chauvinists in deed. They are social-chauvinists.

Recognition of this war as connected with national liberation leads to one line of socialist tactics; recognition of a war as imperialist, predatory and aggressive, leads to another line. The latter has been clearly defined in the Basle Manifesto. The war, it says, will evoke an "economic and political crisis", which, it continues, must be "utilised" to "hasten the collapse of the rule of capital". These words *recognise* that social revolution is *ripe*, that it is *possible*, that it is *approaching* in connection with the war. The "ruling classes" are afraid of a "proletarian revolution", says the Manifesto, quoting the example of the Paris Commune and

of 1905, i.e., the examples of revolutions, strikes, and civil war. It is a lie for anybody to say that the socialists "have not discussed", or "have not decided" the question of their attitude towards the war. The Basle Manifesto *has decided* this question; it has mapped out the line of tactics—that of proletarian revolutionary action and civil war.

It would be erroneous to think that the Basle Manifesto is a piece of empty declamation, a bureaucratic phrase, a none-too-serious threat. Those whom the Manifesto exposes are prepared to say such things. But that is not the truth! The Basle Manifesto sums up the vast amount of propaganda and agitation material of the entire epoch of the Second International, namely, the period between 1889 and 1914. This Manifesto *summarises*, without any exaggeration, *millions upon millions* of leaflets, press articles, books, and speeches by socialists of all lands. To declare this Manifesto erroneous means declaring the entire Second International erroneous, the work done in decades and decades by all Social-Democratic parties. To brush aside the Basle Manifesto means brushing aside the entire history of socialism. The Basle Manifesto says nothing *unusual* or *out of the ordinary*. It provides only and exclusively that *which* enabled the socialists *to lead the masses*—recognition of "peaceful" work as *preparation* for a proletarian revolution. The Basle Manifesto repeated what Guesde said at the 1899 Congress, where he ridiculed socialists' ministerialism manifesting itself *in the event* of a war for markets, "*brigandages capitalistes*" (*En garde!* pp. 175-76), or what Kautsky said in 1909, in his pamphlet *Der Weg zur Macht*, in which he spoke of the end of the "peaceful epoch" and the advent of an epoch of wars, revolutions, and the proletariat's struggle for power.

The Basle Manifesto incontestably proves the complete betrayal of socialism by those socialists who voted for war credits; joined governments, and recognised the defence of the fatherland in 1914-15. This betrayal is undeniable. It will be denied by hypocrites alone. The only question is: how is it *to be explained*.

It would be unscientific, absurd and ridiculous to reduce the question to *personalities*, to refer to Kautsky, Guesde, Plekhanov (and say: "even" such persons!). That would be a

wretched subterfuge. Any serious explanation calls, in the first place, for an *economic* analysis of the significance of present-day politics, then for an analysis of their fundamental *ideas*, and, finally, for a study of the historic *trends* within socialism.

What is the *economic* implication of "defence of the fatherland" in the 1914-15 war? The answer to this question has been given in the Basle Manifesto. The war is being fought by all the Great Powers for the purpose of plunder, carving up the world, acquiring markets, and enslaving nations. To the bourgeoisie it brings higher profits; to a thin crust of the labour bureaucracy and aristocracy, and also to the petty bourgeoisie (the intelligentsia, etc.) which "travels" with the working-class movement, it promises *morsels* of those profits. The economic basis of "social-chauvinism" (this term being more precise than the term social-patriotism, as the latter embellishes the evil) and of opportunism is the same, namely, an alliance between an insignificant section at the "top" of the labour movement, and its "own" national bourgeoisie, directed *against* the masses of the proletariat, an alliance between the *servants* of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, directed against the *class* that is exploited by the bourgeoisie. Social-chauvinism is a consummated opportunism.

Social-chauvinism and opportunism are the same in their political essence; class collaboration, repudiation of the proletarian dictatorship, rejection of revolutionary action, obeisance to bourgeois legality, non-confidence in the proletariat, and confidence in the bourgeoisie. The political ideas are identical, and so is the political content of their tactics. Social-chauvinism is the direct continuation and consummation of Millerandism, Bernsteinism, and British liberal-labour policies, their sum, their total, their highest achievement.

Throughout the entire period between 1889 and 1914, two lines in socialism—the opportunist and the revolutionary—are to be seen. Today there are also two lines in socialism. Let us not follow the method of referring to *persons*, which is practised by the bourgeois and opportunist liars, and let us take the *trends* to be seen in a number of countries. Let us take ten European coun-

tries: Germany, Britain, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Belgium and France. In the first eight countries, the division into the opportunist and revolutionary *trends* coincides with the division into social-chauvinists and revolutionary internationalists. The main *nuclei* of social-chauvinism in the social and political sense are: *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and Co. in Germany; the Fabians and the Labour Party in Britain (the Independent Labour Party entered in a *bloc* with both, the influence of social-chauvinism in the latter being considerably stronger than in the British Socialist Party, in which about three-sevenths are internationalists, namely, 66 to 84); *Nasha Zarya* and the Organising Committee (as well as *Nashe Dyelo*) in Russia; Bissolati's party in Italy; Troelstra's party in Holland; Branting and Co. in Sweden; the "Shiroki"[181] in Bulgaria; Greulich and "his" people* in Switzerland. It is from revolutionary Social-Democrats in *all* these countries that a more or less sharp protest has emanated against social-chauvinism. Two countries out of the ten are the exception, but even there internationalists are *weak*, but not absent; the facts are rather unknown (Vaillant has admitted having received letters from internationalists, which he did not publish) than non-existent.

Social-chauvinism is a consummated opportunism. That is beyond doubt. The alliance with the bourgeoisie used to be ideological and secret. It is now public and unseemly. Social-chauvinism draws its strength from nowhere else but this alliance with the bourgeoisie and the General Staffs. It is a falsehood for anybody (including Kautsky) to say that the "masses" of proletarians have turned towards chauvinism; *nowhere* have the masses been asked (with the exception, perhaps, of Italy, where a discussion went on for nine months prior to the declaration of war, and where the masses also were *against* the Bissolati party). The masses were dumbfounded, panic-stricken, disunited, and crushed by the state of martial law. The free vote was a privilege of the leaders *alone*—and they voted *for* the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat! It is ridiculous and monstrous to consider opportunism an *inner*-party phenomenon! All

* In the MS. Lenin wrote "wing" above the word "people".—*Ed.*

Marxists in Germany, France, and other countries have always stated and insisted that opportunism is a manifestation of the bourgeoisie's influence over the proletariat; that it is a bourgeois labour policy, an alliance between an insignificant section of near-proletarian elements and the bourgeoisie. Having for decades to mature in conditions of "peaceful" capitalism, opportunism was so mature by 1914-15 that it proved an open ally of the bourgeoisie. Unity with opportunism means unity between the proletariat and its national bourgeoisie, i.e., submission to the latter, a split in the international revolutionary working class. We do not say that an immediate split with the opportunists in all countries is desirable, or even possible at present; we do say that such a split has come to a head, that it has become inevitable, is progressive in nature, and necessary to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and that history, having turned away from "peaceful" capitalism towards imperialism, has thereby turned towards such a split. *Volentem ducunt fata*, *nolentem trahunt*.*

Since the onset of the war, the bourgeoisie of all countries, the belligerents in the first place, have united in lauding socialists who recognise the "defence of the fatherland", i.e., the defence of the bourgeoisie's predatory interests in the imperialist war, *against the proletariat*. See how this basic interest of the international bourgeoisie is making its way into the socialist parties, into the working-class movement, to find expression there! The example of Germany is particularly instructive in this respect, since the epoch of the Second International saw the growth of the greatest party in that country, but *the very same thing* is to be seen in other countries, with only minor variations in form, aspect and outward appearance.

In its issue of April 1915, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, a conservative German journal, published an article by a *Social-Democrat*, a member of the Social-Democratic Party, who concealed his identity behind the pseudonym of Monitor. This opportunist blurted out the truth regarding the *substance* of the policy pursued by the *entire* world bourgeoisie towards the working-class movement of the twentieth cen-

* Fate leads the willing, but drags the unwilling (Lat.).—*Ed*.

tury. The latter can neither be brushed aside nor suppressed by brute force, he says. It must be demoralised from within, by *buying* its top section. It was exactly in this manner that the Anglo-French bourgeoisie has been acting for decades, by buying up the trade-union leaders, the Millerands, the Briands and Co. It is in this manner that the German bourgeoisie is now acting. The Social-Democratic Party's behaviour, Monitor says to (and in essence *in the name of*) the bourgeoisie, is "irreproachable" in the present war (i.e., it is irreproachably *serving* the bourgeoisie against the proletariat). The process of the transformation" of the Social-Democratic Party into a national liberal-labour party is proceeding excellently. It would, however, be *dangerous* to the bourgeoisie, Monitor adds, if the party *were to turn to the right*; "it must retain the character of a workers' party with socialist ideals. On the day it gives that up, a new party will arise to take up the rejected programme, giving it a still more radical formulation" (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1915, No. 4, pp. 50-51).

These words openly express that which the bourgeoisie has always and everywhere done covertly. "Radical" *words* are *needed* for the masses to believe in. The opportunists are prepared to reiterate them hypocritically. *Such* parties as the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International used to be are useful and necessary to the opportunists because they engendered the socialists' *defence* of the bourgeoisie during the 1914-15 crisis. Exactly the same kind of policy as that of the German Monitor is being pursued by the Fabians and the liberal trade-union leaders in Britain, and the opportunists and the Jaurèsists in France. Monitor is an outspoken and cynical opportunist. Then there is another shade, a covert or "honest" opportunist (Engels was right when he once said that the "honest" opportunists are the most dangerous to the working-class movement). Kautsky is an example of such an opportunist.

In *Die Neue Zeit* No. 9, of November 26, 1915, he wrote that the majority of the official party was violating its programme (Kautsky himself upheld the policy of the majority for a whole year after the outbreak of the war, justifying the "defence of the fatherland" lie!). "Opposition to the

majority is growing," he said (p. 272). ("*Die Opposition gegen die Mehrheit im Wachsen ist.*) The masses are "in opposition" (*oppositionell*). "*Nach dem Kriege* [*nur* nach *dem Kriege*?] *... werden die Klassengegensätze sich so verschärfen, dass der Radikalismus in den Massen die Oberhand gewinnt*" (p. 272). *Es* "*droht uns nach dem Kriege* [*nur* nach *dem Kriege*?] *... die Flucht der radikalen Elemente aus der Partei und ihr Zustrom zu einer Richtung antiparlamentarischer* [?? *soll heissen*: *ausserparlamentarischer*] *Massenaktionen.... So zerfällt unsere Partei in zwei Extreme, die nichts Gemeinsames haben.*"*

Kautsky wants to represent the golden mean, and to reconcile the "two extremes" which "*have nothing in common*"! Today (sixteen months after the outbreak of war) he admits that the masses are revolutionary. Condemning in the same breath revolutionary action, which he calls "*Abenteuer*" "*in den Strassen*"** (p. 272), Kautsky wants to "reconcile" the revolutionary masses with the opportunist leaders, who have "nothing in common" with them—*but on what basis*? On the basis of mere words! On the basis of "Left-wing" words of the "Left-wing" minority in the Reichstag! Let the minority, like Kautsky, condemn revolutionary *action*, calling it *adventurism*, but it must feed the masses with Left-wing *words*. Then there will be peace in the Party, unity with the Südekums, Legiens, Davids, and Monitors!

But that is Monitor's selfsame programme in its entirety, a programme of the bourgeoisie, only expressed in dulcet tones and in honeyed phrases! The same programme was carried out by Wurm as well, when at the session of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, March 18, 1915, "*er die Fraktion 'warnte', den Bogen zu überspannen; in den Arbeitermassen wachse die Opposition gegen die Fraktions-*

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* "After the war [only *after* the war?] the class antagonisms will become so sharpened that radicalism will gain the upper hand among the masses [p. 272].... We are threatened with the flight of the radical element from the Party after the war [only *after* the war?] ... and with their rushing to join the current of anti-parliamentary [?? should be: extra-parliamentary] mass action.... Thus our Party is divided into two extremes which have nothing in common."—*Ed.*

** Street adventurism.—*Ed.*

taktik; *es gelte, beim marxistischen Zentrum zu verharren*" (*Klassenkampf gegen den Krieg! Material zum "Fall Liebknecht". Als Manuskript gedruckt, S.* 67).*

Let us note the acknowledgement, on behalf of the "Marxist Centre" (including Kautsky), that the masses were in a revolutionary temper! This was March 18, 1915! *Eight and a half months later*, on November 26, 1915, Kautsky again proposed that the revolutionary masses be appeased with Left phrases!

Kautsky's opportunism differs from Monitor's only in the wording, in shades, and the methods of achieving the same end: *preservation* of the opportunists' influence (i.e., the bourgeoisie's) over the masses, preservation of the proletariat's *submission* to the opportunists (i.e., *the bourgeoisie*)! Pannekoek and Gorter have very properly dubbed Kautsky's stand "passive radicalism". (It is *verbiage*, to quote the French who have had occasion to make a thorough study of *this* variety of revolutionism, from their "home-made" models!) I would rather prefer to call it covert, timid, saccharine and hypocritical opportunism.

In substance, the two trends in Social-Democracy now disagree, not in words or in phrases. When it comes to the art of blending "defence of the fatherland" (i.e., defence of bourgeois plundering) with phrases on socialism, internationalism, freedom for the peoples, etc., Vandervelde, Renaudel, Sembat, Hyndman, Henderson, and Lloyd George are in no wise inferior to Legien, Südekum, Kautsky, or Haase! The actual difference begins with a complete rejection of defence of the fatherland in the present war, and with acceptance of revolutionary action in connection with the war, *during* and *after* it. In this question, the only serious and business-like one, Kautsky is at one with Kolb and Heine.

Compare the Fabians in Britain and the Kautskyites in Germany. The former are almost liberals, who have never recognised Marxism. Engels wrote of the Fabians on

* "He warned the group not to test the patience of the masses too far, as opposition is growing among the masses against the group's tactics; one must remain with the Marxist Centre." (*The Class Struggle Against the War! Material on the Liebknecht Case*. Published as a manuscript, p. 67).—*Ed*.

January 18, 1893: "A gang of place hunters, shrewd enough to understand the inevitability of the social revolution, but totally unwilling to entrust this gigantic work to the immature proletariat alone.... Their fundamental principle is fear of revolution...." And on November 11, 1893, he wrote: "Haughty bourgeois, benevolently descending to the proletariat to liberate it from above, if only it is willing to understand that such a raw, uneducated mass cannot liberate itself, and can attain nothing without the charity of those clever attorneys, litterateurs, and sentimental females."[182] How far from these the Kautskyites seem to be in their "theory"! In practice, however, in their attitude towards the war, they are *quite identical*! This is convincing proof of how the Marxism of the Kautskyites has withered, turned into a dead letter, a piece of cant.

The following instances will reveal the kind of obvious sophisms used by the Kautskyites since the outbreak of war, to refute the tactics of revolutionary proletarian action, as unanimously adopted by the socialists in Basle. Kautsky advanced his theory of "ultra-imperialism". By this he meant the substitution of "joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital, for the struggle of capital of some nations against that of other countries" (*Die Neue Zeit* No. 5, April 30, 1915, p. 144). At the same time, Kautsky himself added: "Can such a new phase of capitalism be at all achieved? Sufficient premises are still lacking to enable us to answer this question!" On the ground that a new phase is "conceivable", though he himself lacks the courage even to declare it "achievable", he *now* rejects the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat at a time when the *phase* of crisis and war has obviously arrived! Revolutionary action is rejected by the selfsame leader of the Second International who, in 1909, wrote a book entitled *Der Weg zur Macht*. Translated into almost all the principal European languages, the book revealed the *connection* between the impending war and the revolution, and proved that "revolution *cannot* be premature"!

In 1909, Kautsky proved that the epoch of "peaceful" capitalism had passed, and that the epoch of wars and revolutions was at hand. In 1912, the Basle Manifesto made this view the basis of the entire tactic of the world socialist

parties. In 1914 war came, followed by the "economic and political crisis" foreseen at Stuttgart and Basle. At this juncture Kautsky invented theoretical "subterfuges" to be used *against* revolutionary tactics!

Axelrod has advanced the same ideas, only clothed in a phraseology a little more to the "Left". He writes in free Switzerland, and it is his desire to exert an influence on Russian revolutionary workers. In his pamphlet, *Die Krise und die Aufgaben der internationalen Sozialdemokratie*, Zurich, 1915, we find a discovery that is so pleasing to the opportunists and the bourgeois of the whole world, namely, that "*das Internationalisierungsproblem der Arbeiterbewegung ist mit der Frage der Revolutionisierung unserer Kampfesformen und Methoden nicht identisch*" (p. 37) and that "*der Schwerpunkt des Internationalisierungsproblems der proletarischen Befreiungsbewegung liegt in der weiteren Entwicklung und Internationalisierung eben jener Alltagspraxis* [p. 40] ... beispielsweise *müssen die Arbeiterschutz- und Versicherungsgesetzgebung ... zum Objekt ihrer* [*der Arbeiter*] internationalen *Aktionen und Organisationen werden*" (p. 39).*

It goes without saying that such "internationalism" has the full approval, not only of the Südekums, Legiens and Hyndmans, together with the Vanderveldes, but also of the Lloyd Georges, Naumanns and Briands! Axelrod defends Kautsky's "internationalism" without even quoting or analysing any of the latter's arguments for defence of the fatherland. Like the Francophile social-chauvinists, Axelrod is even afraid to mention that it is revolutionary tactics that the Basle Manifesto speaks of. Against the future—the uncertain and unknown future—Axelrod is prepared to advance the most Left-wing and blatantly revolutionary phrases, such as saying that the future International will meet, *entgegentreten wird* (*den Regierungen im Falle der Kriegs-*

* "The problem of internationalising the labour movement is not identical with the question of revolutionising the forms and methods of our struggle" (p. 37) and that "the gist of the problem of internationalising the proletarian movement for freedom lies in the future development and internationalisation of everyday practices [p. 40] ... *for instance*, labour protection and insurance legislation must become the object of their [workers'] *international* action and organisations" (p. 39).—*Ed.*

gefahr) "*mit der Entfachung eines revolutionären Sturmes. ... Einleitung der sozialistischen Revolution*" (p. 14).* No joking here! When, however, it is a matter of applying revolutionary tactics right now, during the present crisis, Axelrod says *ganz à la Kautsky***: "*Revolutionäre Massenaktionen*"—such tactics "*hätte noch eine gewisse Berechtigung, wenn wir unmittelbar am Vorabend der sozialen Revolution ständen, ähnlich wie es etwa in Russland seit den Studentendemonstrationen des Jahres 1901 der Fall war, die das Herannahen entscheidender Kämpfe gegen den Absolutismus ankündigten*"*** (pp. 40-41), and then he fulminates against the "*Utopien*", "*Bakunismus*", quite in the spirit of Kolb, Heine, Südekum, and Legien. The example of Russia exposes Axelrod most strikingly. Four years elapsed between 1901 and 1905, and nobody could guarantee, in 1901, that the revolution in Russia (the first revolution against absolutism) would take place four years later. Prior to the social revolution, Europe is in exactly the same situation. Nobody can tell whether the first revolution of this kind will come about in four years. That a revolutionary situation, however, *actually exists* is a fact that was predicted in 1912 and became a reality in 1914. The 1914 demonstrations of workers and starving citizens in Russia and Germany also undoubtedly "*ankündigen das Herannahen entscheidender Kämpfe*".**** It is the bounden duty of socialists to support and develop *such* demonstrations and every kind of "revolutionary mass action" (economic and political strikes, unrest among the troops, right up to insurrection and civil war); furnish them with clear slogans; create an underground organisation and publish underground literature, without which the masses *cannot* be called upon to rise up in revolution; help them get a clear understanding of the revolution,

* will meet (the governments in case of a war danger) "with the release of a revolutionary storm ... the inauguration of the socialist revolution."—*Ed.*

** "quite in the Kautsky spirit".—*Ed.*

*** "Revolutionary mass action"—such tactics "would have a certain justification if we were immediately on the eve of a social revolution in the very same way, for instance, as, was the case in Russia beginning with the student demonstrations of 1901, which were the forerunners of approaching decisive battles against absolutism".—*Ed.*

**** "proclaims the approaching decisive battles".—*Ed.*

and organise for it. It is in this way that the Social-Democrats acted in Russia in 1901, on the eve ("*am Vorabend*") of the bourgeois revolution which began in 1905, but has not ended even in 1915. In the very same way, the Social-Democrats are obliged to act in Europe in 1914-15 "*am Vorabend der sozialistischen Revolution*". Revolutions are never born ready-made; they do not spring out of Jupiter's head; they do not kindle at once. They are always preceded by a process of unrest, crises, movements, revolts, the *beginnings* of revolution, the latter *not always* developing to the very end (if, for instance, the revolutionary class is not strong enough). Axelrod invents pretexts so as to distract Social-Democrats from their *duty* of helping develop the revolutionary movements burgeoning within the existing revolutionary situation. Axelrod defends the tactics of David and the Fabians, while masking his own opportunism with Left-wing phrases.

"*Den Weltkrieg in einen Bürgerkrieg umwandeln zu wollen wäre Wahnsinn gewesen*,"* writes David, leader of the opportunists (*Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg*,** Berlin, 1915, p. 172), in objecting to the manifesto of the Central Committee of our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which was published on November 1, 1914. The manifesto advanced the civil war slogan, adding: "*Wie gross die Schwierigkeiten dieser Umwandlung zur gegebenen Zeit auch sein mögen—die Sozialisten werden niemals ablehnen, die Vorarbeiten in der bezeichneten Richtung* systematisch, unbeugsam, *und energisch auszuführen, falls der Krieg zur Tatsache geworden ist.*"*** (Quoted by David, p. 171.) It is noteworthy that a month before David's book appeared (May 1, 1915), our Party published (in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40, March 29) resolutions on the war, which advocate systematic "steps towards turning the present imperialist war into a civil war", these steps being defined in

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* "It would be madness to wish to turn the world war into a civil war."—*Ed.*

** *Social-Democracy in the World War.—Ed.*

*** "However difficult such a transformation may seem at any given moment, socialists will never relinquish *systematic*, *persistent*, and undeviating preparatory work in this direction, once war has become a fact."—*Ed.*

the following way: (1) refusal to vote for war credits, etc.; (2) rejection of "*Burgfrieden*"*; (3) formation of an underground organisation; (4) support for fraternisation by the men in the trenches; (5) support for every kind of revolutionary mass action by the proletariat in general.

O brave David! In 1912 he did not think it "madness" to refer to the example of the Paris Commune. In 1914, however, he was echoing the bourgeois outcry of "madness".

Plekhanov, a typical representative of the social-chauvinists of the Quadruple Entente, has given an appraisal of revolutionary tactics, which is fully in accord with David's. He has called the idea on** ... to wit, the *Vorabend**** of the social revolution, from which a period of four years or more may elapse before the *entscheidende Kämpfe*.***** These are, in fact, the first beginnings—weak as yet, but beginnings, nevertheless—of the "proletarian revolution" which the Basle resolution spoke of and which will *never* become strong suddenly, but will inevitably pass through the stages of relatively *weak* beginnings.

Support for and the development, extension and intensification of revolutionary mass action and the revolutionary movement; the creation of an illegal organisation for propaganda and agitation in this direction, so as to help the masses understand the movement and its tasks, methods and aims—these are the two points that any practical programme of Social-Democratic activity in the present war must inevitably boil down to. All the rest is opportunist and counter-revolutionary phrases, no matter what Leftist, pseudo-Marxist and pacifist contortions those phrases may be disguised with.

Whenever exclamations like the following are made in protest to us—all this in the usual fashion of the diehards in the Second International: "O those 'Russian' methods!" ("*Die russische Taktik*"—Kap. VIII bei David),****** we reply

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* "a class truce".—*Ed.*

** The page breaks off here. Several words are missing from the beginning of the next page of the manuscript. This is the first publication of the continuation of the article.—*Ed.*

*** "the eve".—*Ed.*

**** "decisive battles".—*Ed.*

***** "The Russian tactics". Chapter 8 in David's book.—*Ed.*

merely by referring to the facts. On October 30, 1915, several hundred women (*einiger Hundert*) demonstrated in front of the *Parteivorstand*, and sent it the following message through a deputation: "*Die Verbreitung von* unzensierten Flugblättern und Druckschriften *und die Abhaltung* nicht genehmigter Versammlungen *wäre bei dem grossen Organisationsapparat heute leichter möglich als zur Zeit des Sozialistengesetzes. Es fehlt nicht an Mitteln und Wegen, sondern offensichtlich an dem Willen*"* (my italics). (*Berner Tagwacht* No. 271.)

I suppose these Berlin women workers must have been led astray by the "Bakuninist" and "adventurist", "sectarian" (see Kolb and Co.) and "reckless" manifesto of the Russian Party's Central Committee, dated November 1.

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* "Today, with the existence of a big machine of organisation, it would be far easier to distribute *illegal leaflets and pamphlets* and to hold *banned meetings* than it was during the Anti-Socialist Law. There is no shortage of means and methods, but there seems to be a lack of determination."—*Ed.*

NOTES

[1] These theses on the war were drawn up by Lenin not later than August 24 (September 6), 1914 after he had come to Berne from Poronin (Galicia). They were discussed at a meeting of the Bolshevik group in Berne on August 24-26 (September 6-8). Approved by the group, the theses were circulated among Bolshevik groups abroad. To throw the police off the scent, the copy of the theses made out by N. K. Krupskaya, carried the inscription: "Copy of the manifesto issued in Denmark."

The theses were smuggled into Russia for discussion by the Russian section of the Central Committee, Party organisations, and the Bolshevik Duma group.

Through Swiss Social-Democrats the theses were submitted to the conference of the Swiss and Italian Socialists held in Lugano on September 27, 1914. Many of the ideas contained in the theses were incorporated in the conference's resolution.

On learning of the approval of the theses in Russia, Lenin used them as a basis for writing the manifesto of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" (see this volume, pp. 25-34).

The introduction to the theses ("The Russian Social-Democrats on the European War", which was written on a separate sheet) was discovered only later, and was first published in the 4th Russian edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*. p. 15

[2] Among those who joined the bourgeois government of Belgium was Vandervelde, and in France Jules Guesde, Marcel Sembat and Albert Thomas. p. 16

[3] *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Socialist Monthly)—the principal organ of the German opportunists, and one of the organs of international opportunism. It was published in Berlin from 1897 to 1933. During the First World War it took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 17

[4] *The Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs formed by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary movement. They murdered revolutionaries, assaulted progressive intellectuals and organised pogroms. p. 17

[5] *Cadets*—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leading party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. Founded in 1905, the party represented the bourgeoisie, Zemstvo

landowner leaders and bourgeois intellectuals. Prominent among its members were Milyukov, Muromtsev, Maklakov, Shingaryov, Struve, and Rodichev.

The Cadets were active in Russia's war preparations. They stood solidly behind the tsarist government's predatory designs, hoping to batten on war contracts, strengthen the bourgeoisie's positions, and suppress the revolutionary movement in the country.

With the outbreak of the war the Cadets advanced the slogan of "War to the victorious end!" When, in 1915, the tsarist forces suffered a defeat at the front, which led to the aggravation of the revolutionary crisis, the Cadet members of the State Duma, headed by Milyukov, and the other representatives of the bourgeoisie and the landowners formed a "Progressist" bloc aimed at checking the revolution, preserving the monarchy and bringing the war to a "victorious end". The Cadets actively helped to set up war-industries committees. p. 18

[6] See Lenin's articles "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" and "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe. Editorial Comment by *Sotsial-Demokrat* on the Manifesto on War Issued by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P." (see this volume, pp. 339-43, 344). p. 18

[7] *Avanti!*—a daily and central organ of the Italian Socialist Party, was founded in December 1896. During the First World War its policy was not consistently internationalist, and it failed to break with the reformists. At present *Avanti!* is the central organ of the Italian Communist Party. p. 20

[8] *Südekum*, *Albert*—a German Social-Democrat, who was an extreme social-chauvinist during the First World War. His name has come to denote social-chauvinism. p. 20

[9] *Volksrecht* (The People's Right)—a Swiss Social-Democratic daily, published in Zurich since 1898. During the First World War it published articles by Left Zimmerwaldists, including Lenin's articles "Twelve Brief Theses on H. Greulich's Defence of Fatherland Defence", "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Russian Revolution" and "Tricks of the Republican Chauvinists". p. 21

[10] *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung*—a daily published by the Bremen Social-Democrats from 1890 to 1919. In 1914-15 it was actually the organ of the Left Social-Democrats, and in 1916 it was taken over by the social-chauvinists. p. 21

[11] *Vorwärts*—a daily, central organ of the German Social-Democrats, published in Berlin from 1876 by Wilhelm Liebknecht and other editors. Through this newspaper Engels fought against all manifestations of opportunism. In the latter half of the 1890s, following Engels's death, the newspaper systematically published articles

by opportunists, who had become dominant among German Social-Democrats and in the Second International. During the First World War (1914-18) the paper pursued a social-chauvinist policy, and after the October Socialist Revolution it became a mouthpiece of anti-Soviet propaganda. It ceased publication in 1933. p. 21

[12] *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung*—a daily newspaper, central organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, published in Vienna from 1889. During the First World War it took a social-chauvinist stand, Lenin describing it as the newspaper of "Vienna betrayers of socialism". Suppressed in 1934, it resumed publication in 1945 as the central organ of the Austrian Socialist Party. p. 21

[13] *Hamburger Echo*—German Social-Democratic daily newspaper published from 1887; took a social-chauvinist stand during the First World War. p. 21

[14] *l'Humanité*—a daily founded by Jean Jaurès in 1904 as the organ of the French Socialist Party. During the First World War the newspaper became a mouthpiece of the extreme Right wing of the French Socialist Party, and pursued a social-chauvinist policy. Shortly after the split in the Socialist Party at the Tours Congress in December 1920, and the formation of the Communist Party, it became the organ of the Communist Party. p. 21

[15] The reference is to the appeal addressed to the German people by the French and Belgian delegations to the International Socialist Bureau, and published in *l'Humanité* on September 6, 1914. It accused the German Government of pursuing predatory designs and the German troops of perpetrating atrocities in the occupied areas. Vorwärts of September 10, 1914 carried a protest by the German Social-Democratic Party's Executive against this appeal. This started off a press polemic between French and German social-chauvinists, each side seeking to justify its own government's participation in the war and put the blame on the other side. p. 21

[16] Lenin is referring to the resolution adopted by the Bolshevik group at its meeting in Berne, August 24-26 (September 6-8) 1914 (see this volume, pp. 15-19). p. 21

[17] Ever since its foundation in 1892, a sharp ideological struggle was conducted in the Italian Socialist Party between the opportunist and revolutionary wings, which differed on the question of the Party's policy and tactics. Under pressure from the Lefts, the most outspoken reformists (Bonomi, Bissolati), who supported the war and advocated collaboration with the government and the bourgeoisie, were expelled from the Party at its congress in Reggio Emilia in 1912. After the outbreak of the war, and before Italy's entry into it, the Party took an anti-war stand under the slogan: "Against the war, for neutrality!" In December 1914, the Party expelled a group of renegades (Mussolini and others) who defended the imperialist

policy of the bourgeoisie and favoured Italy's participation in the war. The Italian Socialists met in a joint conference with the Swiss Socialists at Lugano (1914) and took an active part in the international socialist conferences in Zimmerwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916). On the whole however, the Italian Socialist Party followed a Centrist policy. With Italy's entry into the war in May 1915, the Party renounced its anti-war stand and issued a slogan "neither participate in the war, nor sabotage it", which in practice meant support for the war. p. 23

[18] *Die Neue Zeit* (New Times)—theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Until October 1917 it was edited by Karl Kautsky and afterwards by Heinrich Cunow. Several works by Marx and Engels were first published in it. Engels helped the journal with advice, frequently criticising it for its deviations from Marxism. In the latter half of the nineties, following Engels's death, it systematically published articles by revisionists, including a series of Bernstein's articles called "Problems of Socialism", which launched a revisionist crusade against Marxism. During the First World War *Die Neue Zeit* held a Centrist position, which in practice supported social-chauvinists. p. 23

[19] *The Stuttgart Congress of the Second International* was held on August 18-24, 1907. The R.S.D.L.P. delegation consisted of 37 members, the Bolshevik delegates including Lenin, Lunacharsky and Litvinov.

The Congress conducted its main work in committees set up to draft resolutions for the plenary meetings. Lenin worked on the committee which drafted a resolution on "Militarism and International Conflicts". Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg introduced into Bebel's draft the historic amendment on the duty of the socialists to use the war-created crisis to arouse the masses for the overthrow of capitalism. The amendment was adopted by the Congress (concerning the Congress, see Lenin's articles "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart" in Volume 13 of the present edition, pp. 75-81 and 82-93).

The Copenhagen Congress of the Second International was held between August 28 and September 3, 1910, the R.S.D.L.P: being represented by Lenin, Plekhanov, Lunacharsky, Kollontai, Pokrovsky and others. The Congress appointed, several committees for preliminary discussion and drafting of resolutions on the agenda items. Lenin worked on the co-operative committee.

The Congress's resolution "The Struggle Against Militarism and War" confirmed the Stuttgart Congress's resolution on "Militarism and International Conflicts" and listed the demands to be advanced by the socialist parliamentary deputies: (a) all conflicts between states to be unfailingly submitted for settlement by international courts of arbitration, (b) general disarmament; (c) abolition of secret diplomacy; (d) autonomy for all nations and their protection against military attacks and oppression.

The Basle Congress of the Second International was held on November 24-25, 1912. It was the extraordinary congress called in connection with the Balkan War and the imminent European war. The Congress adopted a manifesto emphasising the imperialist nature of the approaching world war, and called on the socialists of all countries to wage a vigorous struggle against war. (The Basle Manifesto is discussed on pp. 208-17, 307-08 in this volume.) p. 31

[20] *Socialist-Revolutionaries*—a petty-bourgeois party in Russia, founded at the end of 1901 and the beginning of 1902 as a result of the union of various Narodnik groups and circles (Union of Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, etc.). The newspaper *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (Revolutionary Russia) (1900-05) and the journal *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* (Herald of the Russian Revolution) (1901-05) became its official organs. The Socialist-Revolutionaries did not recognise the class differences between the proletariat and the petty proprietors, glossed over the class contradictions within the peasantry, and rejected the proletariat's leading role in the revolution. The Socialist-Revolutionaries' views were an eclectic mixture of the ideas of Narodism and revisionism; they tried, as Lenin put it, to patch up "the rents in the Narodnik ideas with bits of fashionable opportunist 'criticism' of Marxism" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 310).

The Bolshevik Party exposed the Socialist-Revolutionaries' attempts to masquerade as socialists, conducted a determined struggle against the Socialist-Revolutionaries for influence over the peasantry, and showed how dangerous their tactic of individual terrorism was to the working-class movement. At the same time the Bolsheviks were prepared, on definite conditions, to enter into temporary agreements with the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the struggle against tsarism. As early as the first Russian revolution (1905-07), the Right wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party broke away and formed the legal Popular-Socialist Party, whose outlook was close to that of the Cadets, the Left wing forming the semi-anarchist league of Maximalists. In the period of reaction between 1907 and 1910, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party suffered a complete ideological and organisational breakdown. During the First World War most of its members took a social-chauvinist position. p. 32

[21] *The British Socialist Party* was founded in 1911, in Manchester, as a result of the Social-Democratic Federation merging with other socialist groups. The B.S.P. carried on its propaganda in the Marxist spirit, was "not opportunist, and ... was *really* independent of the Liberals" (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 273). Its small membership, however, and its isolation from the masses gave it a somewhat sectarian character.

During the First World War, a sharp struggle flared up in the party between the internationalist trend (William Gallacher, Albert Inkpin, John Maclean, Thomas Rothstein and others) and the social-chauvinist trend led by Hyndman. On a number of

questions a section of the internationalists held Centrist views. In February 1916 a group of party members founded the newspaper *The Call*, which was instrumental in uniting the internationalist elements. When, at its Salford conference in April 1916, the Party denounced the social-chauvinist stand held by Hyndman and his followers, the latter broke away from the Party.

The British Socialist Party acclaimed the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, its members playing a prominent role in the British working people's movement in support of Soviet Russia, and against the foreign intervention. In 1919 the majority of the local Party branches (98 against 4) declared for affiliation to the Communist International.

The British Socialist Party and the Communist unity group played the leading part in founding the Communist Party of Great Britain. At the first Unity Congress of 1920 the overwhelming majority of the B.S.P. branches merged in the newly founded Communist Party. p. 36

[22] *The Independent Labour Party*—a reformist party founded by the leaders of "new trade unions" in 1893, when the strike struggle revived and there was a mounting drive for a labour movement independent of the bourgeois parties. The Party included members of the "new trade unions" and a number of the old trade unions, representatives of the professions and the petty bourgeoisie, who were under Fabian influence. The Party's leader was James Keir Hardie.

From its early days the Independent Labour Party held a bourgeois-reformist stand, concentrating on the parliamentary forms of struggle and parliamentary deals with the Liberals. Characterising this party, Lenin wrote that it was "actually an opportunist party that has always been dependent on the bourgeoisie" (V. I. Lenin, *On Britain*, Moscow, p. 401).

When the First World War broke out, the Party issued an anti-war manifesto, but shortly afterwards took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 36

[23] See Note 17. p. 37

[24] For liquidators see pp. 333-34 of this volume. p. 37

[25] *Golos* (The Voice)—a daily Menshevik-Trotskyist paper, published in Paris from September 1914 to January 1915, which followed a Centrist line.

In the early days of the war of 1914-18 *Golos* published several of Martov's articles directed against social-chauvinists. After Martov's swing to the Right, the newspaper came out in defence of the social-chauvinists, preferring "unity with the social-chauvinists to drawing closer to those who are irreconcilably hostile to social-chauvinism" (p. 113 in this volume).

In January 1915 *Golos* ceased publication and was replaced by *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word). p. 37

[26] *The Paris group* or group for aid the R.S.D.L.P. was formed on November 5 (18), 1908. It separated from the common Menshevik and Bolshevik Paris group, to unite Bolsheviks alone. It was later joined by pro-Party Mensheviks and *Vperyod* supporters.

During the war the group consisted of N. A. Semashko, M. F. Vladimirsky, I. F. Armand, S. I. Gopner, L. N. Stal, V. K. Taratuta, A. S. Shapovalov and others. Led by Lenin, the group took an internationalist stand and waged a vigorous struggle against the imperialist war and the opportunists. p. 37

[27] The notes on Lenin's report referred to in the article were published in *Vorwärts* No. 308 of November 10 and in *Wienner Arbeiter-Zeitung* No. 309 of November 7, 1914. On November 22, 1914, the *Vorwärts* editorial board published a brief note replying to Lenin's letter, claiming that the report had criticised the stand taken by the German and Austrian Social-Democrats and gave an appraisal of the Second International's collapse. p. 42

[28] Lenin began his article "Karl Marx", which was intended for the Granat Encyclopaedic Dictionary, in Poronin (Galicia) in the spring of 1914 and finished it in Berne in November 1914. In the preface to the 1918 edition of the article, which was published as a pamphlet, Lenin himself said he recollected 1913 as the year it was written in.

The article was published in 1915 in the Dictionary, over the signature of V. I. Lenin, and was followed by a supplement "Bibliography of Marxism". Because of the censorship, the editors of the Dictionary omitted two chapters, "Socialism" and "Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat", and made a number of changes in the text.

In 1918 *Priboi* Publishers published the original article as a separate pamphlet, with a preface written specially for it by Lenin, but without the "Bibliography of Marxism" supplement.

The article was first published in full according to the manuscript in 1925 in the collection "Marx-Engels-Marxism" prepared by the Lenin Institute of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). p. 43

[29] These words are from Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right. Introduction". The relevant passage reads: "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapon, material force must be overthrown by a material force; but theory, too, becomes a material force, as soon as it grips the masses." p. 47

[30] See Marx's letter to Engels of April 9, 1863. p. 75

[31] See Engels's letter to Marx of February 5, 1851. p. 76

[32] See Engels's letters to Marx of December 17, 1857, and October 7, 1858. p. 76

[33] See Engels's letter to Marx of April 8, 1863, and Marx's letters to Engels of April 9, 1863 and April 2, 1866. p. 76

[34] See Engels's letters to Marx of November 19, 1869 and August 11, 1881. p. 76

[35] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 1, p. 69. p. 77

[36] See Marx's letter to Engels of April 16, 1856. p. 78

[37] See Engels's letters to Marx of January 27 and February 5, 1865. p. 78

[38] *The Anti-Socialist Law* was passed by the Bismarck government in 1878 to check the working-class and socialist movement. It banned all Social-Democratic and mass working-class organisations, and the workers' press; socialist literature was confiscated and Social-Democrats were persecuted and exiled. The law was repealed in 1890 under pressure from the mounting working-class movement. p. 79

[39] *The Emancipation of Labour group* was the first Russian Marxist group; it was founded by G. V. Plekhanov in Geneva in 1883. Besides Plekhanov, its members included P. B. Axelrod, L. G. Deutsch, Vera Zasulich and V. N. Ignatov. The group set itself the task of propaganda of scientific socialism in Russia, criticism of Narodism and theoretical analysis of developments in Russia from the standpoint of Marxism. The group translated into Russian and widely circulated Marx's and Engels's *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx's *Wage-Labour and Capital*, Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, as well as a number of Plekhanov's works, handbooks for generations of Russian Marxists (*Socialism and the Political Struggle*, *Our Differences*, and others).

In drafting the programme of the Russian Social-Democrats the group fell into a number of errors. It advocated individual terrorism, denied the revolutionary role of the peasantry, overestimated the role of the liberal bourgeoisie, etc. While he had a high opinion of Plekhanov and the Emancipation of Labour group, Lenin pointed out that it "only laid the theoretical foundations for the Social-Democratic movement and took the first step towards the working-class movement". The group existed until the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903). p. 81

[40] See Marx's letter to F. A. Sorge of September 19, 1879. p. 92

[41] This refers to the followers of the revisionist Bernstein, leader of the opportunist trend in German Social-Democracy, which arose at the end of the nineteenth century. p. 93

[42] In its issue of March 30, 1895, *Vorwärts* published a summary and several extracts from Engels's preface to Marx's "The Class Struggles

in France, 1848 to 1850", omitting very important propositions on the revolutionary role of the proletariat, which evoked a vehement protest from Engels. In his letter to Kautsky of April 1, 1895, he wrote: "To my astonishment I see in the *Vorwärts* today an extract from my 'Introduction', printed *without my prior knowledge* and trimmed in such a fashion that I appear as a peaceful worshipper of legality at any price" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p. 568).

Engels insisted on the "Introduction" being published in full. In 1895 it was published in the journal *Die Neue Zeit*, but with considerable deletions, these at the instance of the German Social-Democratic Party leadership. Seeking to justify their reformist tactics, the leaders of German Social-Democracy subsequently began to interpret their version of the "Introduction" as Engels's renunciation of revolution, armed uprisings and barricade fighting. The original text of the "Introduction" was first published in the Soviet Union in 1955 (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, pp. 118-38). p. 95

[43] *Millerandism*—an opportunist trend named after the French "socialist" Millerand, who in 1899 joined the reactionary bourgeois government of France and helped the bourgeoisie in conducting its policy.

The admissibility of socialists' participation in bourgeois governments was discussed at the Paris Congress of the Second International in 1900. The Congress adopted Kautsky's conciliatory resolution condemning socialists' participation in bourgeois governments but permitting it in certain "exceptional" cases. The French socialists used this proviso to justify their joining the bourgeois government at the beginning of the First World War. p. 97

[44] See F. Engels, *Socialism in Germany*, Section 1. p. 97

[45] *Iskra* (The Spark)—the first all-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper, founded by Lenin in 1900. It played a decisive part in the establishment of the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class. The first issue appeared in Leipzig in December 1900; it was subsequently published in Munich, in London (from July 1902) and in Geneva (from the spring of 1903). On Lenin's initiative and with his direct participation, the *Iskra* editorial board drew up the Party programme which was published in *Iskra* No. 21, and prepared the second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. which marked the beginning of a revolutionary Marxist party in Russia. Soon after the Congress, the Mensheviks, helped by Plekhanov, gained control of *Iskra*, so that, beginning with issue No. 52, *Iskra* ceased being an organ of revolutionary Marxism. p. 98

[46] *The Mountain* (*Montagne) and the Gironde*—the two political groups of the bourgeoisie during the French bourgeois revolution of 1789. The Montagnards, or Jacobins, was the name given to the more resolute representatives of the bourgeoisie, the revolution-

ary class of the time, who stood for the abolition of absolutism and the feudal system. Unlike the Jacobins, the Girondists vacillated between revolution and counter-revolution, and sought agreement with the monarchy.

Lenin called the opportunist trend in Social-Democracy the "socialist Gironde", and the revolutionary Social-Democrats the "proletarian Jacobins", "the Mountain". After the R.S.D.L.P. split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Lenin frequently stressed that the Mensheviks represented the Girondist trend in the working-class movement. p. 98

[47] *Ivan Ivanovich* and *Ivan Nikiforovich*—characters in Gogol's *Tale of How Ivan Ivanovich Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovich*. The quarrel between these two provincial landowners, whose names have become proverbial, started on a most insignificant pretext, and dragged on endlessly. p. 99

[48] *The International Socialist Bureau*—the executive body of the Second International, established by decision of the Paris Congress of 1900. From 1905 Lenin was member of the I.S.B. as representative of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 100

[49] Nicholas II (1868-1918)—tsar of Russia (1894-1917). p. 102

[50] *The Council of the United Nobility*—a counter-revolutionary landowners' organisation, which was founded in May 1906. The Council exercised considerable influence over the policy of the tsarist government. Lenin called it the "Council of the United Feudalists". p. 103

[51] *Radishchev, A. N.* (1749-1802)—Russian writer and revolutionary. In his famous work *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, he launched the first public attack on serfdom in Russia. By order of Catherine II he was sentenced to death for the book, but the sentence was commuted to 10 years' exile in Siberia. He returned from exile under an amnesty, but committed suicide when faced with the threat of fresh persecution. Lenin regarded Radishchev an outstanding representative of the Russian people. p. 103

[52] *Decembrists*—Russian revolutionary noblemen, who in December 1825 rose in revolt against the autocracy and the serf-owning system. p. 103

[53] *Commoners* (*raznochintsi* in Russian)—the Russian commoner-intellectuals, drawn from the petty townsfolk, the clergy, the merchant classes and the peasantry, as distinct from those coming from the nobility. p. 103

[54] A quotation from Chernyshevsky's novel *The Prologue*. p. 103

[55] *Purishkevich, V. M.* (1870-1920)—big landowner, Black-Hundred reactionary, and monarchist. p. 105

[56] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, p. 201. p. 105

[57] The Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma were arrested on the night of November 5-6 (18-19),1914. The pretext for their arrest was their participation in a conference they convened in the village of Ozerki, near Petrograd.

Held on November 2-4 (15-17), the conference was attended by representatives of the Bolshevik organisations of Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kharkov and Riga, as well as by the Duma Bolshevik deputies.

Warned by an agent provocateur the police swooped down on Ozerki when the conference had just completed its work. During the search of G. I. Petrovsky, A. Y. Badayev and other Duma Bolshevik deputies, the police found Lenin's theses on the war and the newspaper Sotsial-Demokrat No. 33, which carried the manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian-Social-Democracy". All participants in the conference were arrested, but the Duma Bolshevik deputies, who enjoyed parliamentary immunity, escaped arrest. Two days later, however, they too were arrested, tried and exiled for life to Eastern Siberia. Lenin devoted to the trial of the Bolshevik deputies the article "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group", which was published in Sotsial-Demokrat No. 40, March 29, 1915 (see this volume, pp. 171-77). p. 108

[58] The Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party was held in Stockholm on November 23,1914. The main item on the agenda dealt with the attitude towards the war. A. G. Shlyapnikov, who brought the Congress a message of greetings from the R.S.D.L.P's Central Committee, read a declaration calling for a struggle to be waged against the imperialist war and branding the treachery of the leaders of the German Social-Democrats and the socialist parties of other countries, who had turned social-chauvinist. Branting, leader of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party's Right wing, moved that regret be expressed at the section of the declaration condemning the conduct of German Social-Democracy, asserting that "it does not befit" the Congress "to reprehend other parties". Höglund, leader of the Left Social-Democrats, came out against Branting's proposal, and declared that many Swedish Social-Democrats shared the view expressed in the declaration of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee. However, Branting's proposal was carried by a majority of votes. Y. Larin addressed the Congress on behalf of the Menshevik Organising Committee. A report on the Congress was published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 36, January 9, 1915. p. 108

[59] *The Organizing Committee*—the Menshevik guiding centre, was established at a conference of the Menshevik liquidators and all anti-Party groups and trends, held in August 1912. It existed until the election of the Central Committee of the Menshevik party in August 1917.

Belenin—A. G. Shlyapnikov. p. 108

[60] *Sotsial-Demokrat*—Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P., published illegally from February 1908 to January 1917. In all, 58 issues appeared. The first issue was published in Russia, and the rest abroad, first in Paris and then in Geneva. According to the decision of the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee, the editorial board was composed of representatives of Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Polish Social-Democrats.

The newspaper published over 80 articles and items by Lenin. While on the editorial board, Lenin maintained a consistent Bolshevik stand. Some editors (including Kamenev and Zinoviev) took a conciliatory attitude towards the liquidators and tried to disrupt Lenin's line. The Menshevik editors Martov and Dan sabotaged the work of the editorial board and openly defended liquidationism in their factional newspaper *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata*.

Because of Lenin's uncompromising struggle against the liquidators Martov and Dan walked out of the editorial board, in June 1911. Beginning with December 1911 Lenin became editor of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. p. 108

[61] Lenin is referring to the Caucasian Menshevik liquidators, the Bund (The General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia), and representatives of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, who supported the liquidators. p. 108

[62] The reference is to the reply of the St. Petersburg liquidators (Potresov, Maslov, Cherevanin and others) to Vandervelde's telegram urging Russian Social-Democrats to abstain from opposing the war. In their reply, the Russian liquidators approved Belgian, French and English socialists joining bourgeois governments, and declared that in their activities in Russia they were not opposed to the war. p. 112

[63] *Berner Tagwacht*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, founded in Berne in 1893. In the early days of the First World War, it published articles by Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring and other Left Social-Democrats. Following 1917 the newspaper openly supported social-chauvinists.

Today the newspaper's line coincides on the main issues with that of the bourgeois press. p. 112

[64] The Menshevik Organising Committee announced the forthcoming publication of its organ *Otkliki* (Echoes), which, however, never appeared. p. 113

[65] *Mysl* (Thought)—a daily Socialist-Revolutionary newspaper published in Paris from November 1914 to March 1915. p. 113

[66] *Trudoviks*—a group of petty-bourgeois democrats in the State Duma consisting of peasants and intellectuals of a Narodnik trend. The Trudovik group was formed in April 1906 of peasant deputies

to the First Duma. In the Duma the Trudoviks vacillated between the Cadets and the Social-Democrats.

During the First World War, most of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Popular Socialists and Trudoviks took a social-chauvinist stand. p. 114

[67] Lenin is referring to the resolution "The Narodniks" which he wrote and which was adopted by the joint Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee and Party officials held between September 23 and October 1 (October 6-14), 1913, in the village of Poronin (near Cracow). For reasons of secrecy, the conference was called the "Summer" or "August" Conference. See the resolution in Volume 19 of the present edition, pp. 429-31. p. 114

[68] Lenin wrote this article in connection with the speech delivered by the Menshevik Y. Larin on November 23 (New Style), 1914, at the Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party in Stockholm.

The fourteen conditions of unity listed by Lenin are taken from his "Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference and Instructions to the C.C. Delegation" (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 495-535). p. 115

[69] *The "July Third" (Brussels) bloc* was formed at the Brussels "Unity" Conference called by the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau on July 16-18, 1914, for an "exchange of opinions" on the restoration of unity within the R.S.D.L.P. The delegates represented the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks), the Organising Committee (Mensheviks), and the affiliated organisations—the Caucasian Regional Committee and the *Borba* group, that is, the Trotskyites, the Duma Social-Democratic group (Mensheviks), Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo* group, the *Vperyod* group, the Bund, the Social-Democrats of the Lettish Area, the Social-Democrats of Lithuania, the Polish Social-Democrats, the Polish Social-Democratic opposition and the P.S.P. (the Left wing).

Though the Conference had been called only for an exchange of opinions and was not intended to adopt any binding decisions, Kautsky's resolution on the unification of the R.S.D.L.P. was put to the vote. Though the Bolsheviks and the Lettish Social-Democrats refused to vote, the resolution was carried by a majority. p. 115

[70] The Left wing of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Polish Socialist Party arose as an independent faction in 1906, after the split in the P.S.P. Though it did not fully reject nationalism, the Left wing renounced a number of the P.S.P.'s nationalist demands and terrorist methods of struggle. On questions of tactics it stood close to the Russian Menshevik liquidators and joined forces with the latter against the Bolsheviks. During the First World War most of the Left wingers adopted an internationalist stand and drew close to the Polish Social-Democratic Party. In December 1918, the Left wing of the P.S.P. and the Polish Social-Democratic Party founded the Communist Workers' Party of Poland. p. 115

[71] *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn)—a legal monthly of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from 1910 to 1914. The liquidators in Russia centred around this journal. p. 115

[72] *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* (Our Workers' Newspaper)—a daily newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators, published legally in St. Petersburg from May to July 1914. p. 115

[73] The Menshevik liquidators came out against the legal Insurance Council, calling upon the workers to defy its decisions. The Council was elected by the St. Petersburg workers in March 1914 according to lists submitted by the Bolsheviks (Pravdists). p. 116

[74] *Strakhovaniye Rabochikh* (Workers' Insurance)—a journal published by the Menshevik liquidators in St. Petersburg from December 1912 to June 1918. p. 116

[75] *The Chkheidze group*—the Menshevik group in the Fourth Duma led by N. S. Chkheidze. During the First World War the group took a Centrist stand, but actually gave full support to the policy of the Russian social-chauvinists. p. 116

[76] *The Triple Entente*—the imperialist bloc of Britain, France and tsarist Russia which took final shape in 1907, and was opposed to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The emergence of the Triple Entente was preceded by the conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1891-93 and the Anglo-French agreement of 1904. The formation of the Entente was concluded by the signing of the Anglo-Russian agreement in 1907. During the First World War the military and political alliance between Britain, France and Russia was joined by the United States, Japan, Italy and other countries. p. 118

[77] See Engels's letter to Marx of August 15, 1870. p. 119

[78] Lenin is referring to Engels's work "The Po and the Rhine". p. 119

[79] See Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, p. 227. p. 121

[80] *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word)—a Menshevik Trotskyite daily published in Paris from January 1915 to September 1916, instead of the newspaper *Golos*.

Lenin's letter to the newspaper was written in reply to the *Nashe Slovo* editors' proposal for joint action against social-patriotism, in connection with the forthcoming London conference of Entente Socialists. Lenin agreed to the proposal and submitted a draft declaration addressed to the London Conference. He criticised the social-chauvinist position of the Menshevik Organising Committee and the Bund, whom the *Nashe Slovo* editors had approached with the same proposal. *Nashe Slovo*'s editors did not accept Lenin's declaration, but drew up one of their own.

Following the London Conference, the *Nashe Slovo* editors again proposed to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. that a joint conference of "internationalists" be held so as to define the attitude towards the war and the social-chauvinists. In his reply to the *Nashe Slovo* editors dated March 10 (23), 1915 (see pp. 165-68 of this volume), Lenin laid down a number of fundamental conditions for a union of genuine internationalists. Since the *Nashe Slovo* editors came out in defence of the Organising Committee and the Bund, Lenin discontinued the talks.

Nashe Slovo's attempts at unification ended in an "ideological-political fiasco", as Lenin put it. Lenin discussed this question in the following works published herein: "On the London Conference" (pp. 178-80), "The Question of the Unity of Internationalists" (pp. 188-91), "The Collapse of Platonic Internationalism" (pp. 194-98), "The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy" (pp. 281-86) and "Socialism and War" (pp. 335-38). p. 125

[81] The London Conference of Socialists of the "allied countries" of the Triple Entente met on February 14, 1915. Its delegates represented the social-chauvinists and the pacifist groups of the Socialist parties of Britain, France, Belgium, as well as the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries

Though the Bolsheviks were not invited to the Conference, Litvinov (Maximovich) presented to the Conference the declaration of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., which was based on Lenin's draft. The declaration demanded the withdrawal of socialists from bourgeois governments and a complete rupture with the imperialists; it called for an end to co-operation with the imperialist governments, a resolute struggle against the latter, and condemnation of voting for war credits. The chairman interrupted Litvinov as he was reading the declaration, and deprived him of the right to speak. The latter handed the declaration over to the presidium and left the Conference hall.

See Lenin's articles "The London Conference" and "On the London Conference" (pp. 132-34, 178-80 of this volume). p. 125

[82] On August 4, 1914, the German Social-Democratic parliamentary party voted for war credits for the Kaiser's Government. p. 130

[83] *J. Gardenin*—leader of the Socialist-Revolutionaries' party V. Chernov. p. 131

[84] *Ropshin*—the Socialist-Revolutionary B. Savinkov. p. 131

[85] *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary)—a literary and political monthly published in St. Petersburg in 1911-15. A group of Menshevik liquidators, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Popular-Socialists, and Left liberals formed around the journal, which had no roots whatever in the working-class masses. In 1914, Lenin defined its trend as a blend of Narodism and Marxism. p. 131

[86] *Maximovich*—M. M. Litvinov. p. 132

[87] *Labour Leader*—a weekly published since 1891; since 1893, organ of the Independent Labour Party of Britain. As from 1922, the newspaper appeared under the name of *New Leader* and in 1946 it became the *Socialist Leader*. p. 134

[88] A number of changes were made in Lenin's article "Under a False Flag" by the editors of the *Collection* issued in March 1917 by *Priliv* Publishers. p. 135

[89] *Nashe Dyelo* (Our Cause)—a monthly of the Menshevik liquidators; mouthpiece of social-chauvinists in Russia. It began publication in 1915 in Petrograd to replace *Nasha Zarya*, which had been suppressed in October 1914. p. 137

[90] *Obshcho Dyelo* (The Common Cause) adherents (also known as *Shiroki* socialists)—an opportunist trend in Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party. The journal *Obshcho Dyelo* was published from 1900 onwards. After a split at the Tenth Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1903 in Ruse they formed a reformist Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (of *Shiroki* socialists). During the world imperialist war of 1914-18 the *Obshcho Dyelo* adherents took a chauvinist stand.

Tesnyaki—a revolutionary trend in the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, which in 1903 took shape as an independent Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party. The founder and leader of *Tesnyaki* was D. Blagoyev, his followers, Georgy Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov, among others, later heading that Party. In 1914-18 the *Tesnyaki* came out against the imperialist war. In 1919 they joined the Communist International and formed the Communist Party of Bulgaria. p. 155

[91] *The Daily Citizen*—originally organ of the opportunist bloc—the Labour Party, Fabians and the Independent Labour Party of Britain, published in London from 1912 to 1915. p. 156

[92] *The Daily Herald*—organ of the British Socialist Party, published in London since 1912. p. 156

[93] *The Fabians*—members of the Fabian Society, a British reformist organisation founded in 1884. The name is an allusion to the Roman commander Quintus Fabius Maximus (d. 203), called Cunctator, i.e., the Delayer, for his tactics of harassing Hannibal's army without risking a pitched battle. Most of the Society's members were bourgeois intellectuals: scholars, writers, politicians (such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw, Ramsay MacDonald), who denied the need for the class struggle of the proletariat and a socialist revolution, and insisted that the transition from capitalism to socialism lay only through petty reform and a gradual transformation of society. Lenin said it was "an *extremely opportunist* trend" (see present edition, Vol. 13, p. 358. The Fabian Society, which was

affiliated to the Labour Party in 1900, is one of the ideological sources of Labour Party policy.

During World War I, the Fabians took a social-chauvinist stand. For Lenin's description of the Fabians, see "British Pacifism and the British Dislike of Theory" (the present volume, pp. 260-65). p. 156

[94] The reference is to the Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. groups abroad, held in Berne on February 27-March 4, 1915. Convened on Lenin's initiative, it was in fact a general conference of the Party, since neither a party congress nor an all-Russia conference could be convened during the war.

The Conference was attended by representatives of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee, the R.S.D.L.P. Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and delegates from R.S.D.L.P. (Bolshevik) groups in Paris, Zurich, Geneva, Berne, Lausanne and from the Baugy group. Lenin was delegated by the Central Committee and the Central Organ, directed the work of the Conference, and made a report on the main item on the agenda, "The War and the Tasks of the Party". The Conference adopted resolutions on war as drafted by Lenin. p. 158

[95] *Pravda*—a legal Bolshevik daily published in St. Petersburg. Founded in April 1912, on the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers.

Pravda was a popular working-class newspaper, published with money collected by the workers themselves. A wide circle of worker-correspondents and worker-publicists formed around the newspaper. Over eleven thousand correspondence items from workers were published in a single year. *Pravda* had an average daily circulation of 40,000, with some issues running into 60,000 copies.

Lenin directed *Pravda* from abroad, where he was living. He wrote for the paper almost daily, gave instructions to the editorial board, and rallied the Party's best literary forces around the newspaper.

Pravda was constantly persecuted by the police. During its first year of existence it was confiscated forty-one times, and thirty-six legal actions were brought against its editors, who served prison sentences totalling forty-seven and a half months. In the course of twenty-seven months *Pravda* was banned eight times by the tsarist government, but reissued under the new names of *Rabochaya Pravda*, *Severnaya Pravda*, *Pravda Truda*, *Za Pravdu*, *Proletarskaya Pravda*, *Put Pravdy*, *Rabochy*, and *Trudovaya Pravda*. The paper was closed down on July 8 (21), 1914, on the eve of World War I.

Publication was not resumed until after the February Revolution. Beginning from March 5 (18), 1917, *Pravda* appeared as the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin joined the editorial board on April 5 (18), on his return from abroad, and took over the paper's management. On July 5 (18), 1917, the *Pravda* editorial office was raided by military cadets and Cossacks. In July-October 1817 *Pravda* frequently changed its name as a result of persecution by the Provisional Government. It appeared successively under the names

of *Listok Pravdy*, *Proletary*, *Rabochy*, and *Rabochy Put*. On October 27 (November 9) the newspaper began to appear under its former name—*Pravda*. p. 164

[96] The document has no heading. The title has been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U. p. 165

[97] This refers to the *Information Bulletin*, an organ of the Bund Organisation Abroad. It was published in Geneva from June 1911 to June 1916. In all eleven issues appeared.

It was succeeded by the *Bulletin of the Bund Committee Abroad*. Only two issues appeared, in September and December 1916. p. 166

[98] The reference is to the Copenhagen Conference of Socialists of Neutral Countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Holland), which took place on January 17-18, 1915, with the aim of restoring the Second International. The Conference resolved to appeal, through the socialist parties' members of parliaments, to the respective governments, offering to act as mediators between the belligerent countries and attempt to bring about the termination of the war. p. 167

[99] The trial of the Bolshevik deputies to the Fourth Duma (A. E. Badayev, M. K. Muranov, G. I. Petrovsky, F. N. Samoilov, N. R. Shagov) and other Social-Democrats, who took part in the illegal Party Conference in Ozerki, took place on February 10 (23), 1915. The case was tried by the Special Court in Petrograd. They were charged under Article 102, i.e., accused of participation in an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the existing state system. The main circumstantial evidence against the Bolshevik deputies was Lenin's theses "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War" and the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. manifesto "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", which were confiscated during the search. (These documents are published in this volume, pp. 15-19, 25-34.)

The five Bolshevik deputies were exiled for life to Turukhansk Territory (Eastern Siberia). p. 171

[100] *Dyen* (Day)—a daily of a bourgeois-liberal trend, which began publication in St. Petersburg in 1912. Among its contributors were Menshevik liquidators, who took over complete control of the paper after February 1917. Closed down by the Revolutionary-Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917. p. 172

[101] *Rech* (Speech)—the central daily newspaper of the Cadet Party, published in St. Petersburg from February 1906 onwards. It was suppressed by the Revolutionary-Military Committee of the

Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917, but continued to appear under other names until August 1918. p. 172

[102] *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (Workers' Northern Gazette)—a legal daily of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from January to May 1914. p. 174

[103] *L'Echo de Paris*—an extremely reactionary bourgeois daily, published in Paris from 1884 to 1938.

Le Temps—a bourgeois daily, published in Paris from 1861 to 1942. Lenin is referring to the two articles on the London Conference, published in this newspaper on February 15 and 16, 1915. p. 178

[104] *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*—a bourgeois weekly published in Paris from 1894 to 1934. Lenin is referring to the article "The London Conference of Socialists" published in its issue of Febuary 19, 1915. p. 178

[105] *Izvestia of the Secretariat Abroad of the O.C. R.S.D.L.P.* was published in Switzerland by the Menshevik Organising Committee from February 1915 to March 1917. p. 179

[106] *Tägliche Rundschau* (Daily Review)—a daily of a bourgeois nationalist trend, published in Berlin from October 1880 onwards. In 1922 it was sold to *Deutsche Allgemeine-Zeitung*. From December 1924 to 1928 it appeared under the name of Neue Tägliche Rundschau. It ceased publication in 1933. p. 181

[107] This refers to the October all-Russia political strike and the December armed uprising in Moscow, in 1905. p. 186

[108] Lenin is referring to Nasha Zarya, a journal of the Menshevik liquidators. p. 189

[109] *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* (Problems of Insurance)—a Bolshevik legal journal, published at intervals in St. Petersburg from October 1913 to March 1918. It worked, not only for the achievement of workers' insurance, but also for the Bolshevik "uncurtailed slogans" of an eight-hour day, confiscation of the landed estates, and a democratic republic. The Bolsheviks A. N. Vinokurov, N. A. Skripnik, P. I. Stučka, N. M. Shvernik and others contributed to the journal. p. 191

[110] *Severny Golos* (Voice of the North)—Menshevik weekly, published in Petrograd from January to March 1915. p. 191

[111] *The Economist*—a bourgeois weekly published in London since 1843. p. 192

[112] The reference is to the Governor of the town of S., a character in Turgenev's story *Virgin Soil*. p. 195

[113] *Lichtstrahlen* (Rays)—a monthly, organ of the Left Social-Democrats in Germany (International Socialists of Germany), published at intervals from 1913 to 1921 in Berlin. Its editor-in-chief was J. Borhardt. p. 195

[114] *Die Internationale*—a journal founded by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. Only one issue appeared, in Berlin, April 1915. It resumed publication in Munich in 1922 under the name of *Futurus*. p. 195

[115] This refers to the phrase in Saltykov-Shchedrin's "Miscellaneous Letters"—the writing is the business of the writer; the reader's job is to do the reading. p. 198

[116] This refers to the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., which took place in Prague on January 5-17 (18-30), 1912. p. 198

[117] The International Conference of Socialist Women held in Berne on March 26-28, 1915, dealt with the attitude to the war. It was convened on the initiative of the women organisations attached to the C.C. R.S.D.L.P., with the active participation of Clara Zetkin, leader of the international women's movement. Twenty-nine delegates from Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Switzerland, Russia and Poland attended the Conference, the Russian delegation including N. K. Krupskaya and Inessa Armand.

The report on the International Conference of Socialist Women was published in the Supplement to *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 42 of June 1, 1915. p. 199

[118] The Chemnitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, held on September 15-21, 1912, passed a resolution "On Imperialism", which said that the imperialist states were pursuing "a policy of shameless plunder and annexations" and called upon the party "to fight imperialism with greater energy".

During World War I leaders of the Second International treacherously violated the decisions of the international socialist congresses, in particular, those adopted in Chemnitz. p. 208

[119] On Struvism, see this volume, pp. 221-23. p. 213

[120] *Zhizn* (Life)—a newspaper of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, published between March 1915 and January 1916, first in Paris and later in Geneva taking the place of newspaper *Mysl* which was closed down in 1915. p. 221

[121] *The man in a muffler*—a character in Chekhov's story of the same name, typifying a narrow-minded philistine who is afraid of innovations and any initiative. p. 227

[122] The quotation is from Goethe. p. 231

[123] *The Bulygin Duma*—a consultative Duma, the laws for the elections and convocation of which were drafted by a commission headed by A. G. Bulygin, Minister of the Interior, and published on August 6 (19),1905. The Bolsheviks boycotted the Bulygin Duma, and the government failed to convene it. The Duma was swept away by the October general political strike. p. 233

[124] *Le Socialisme*—a journal edited and published in Paris between 1907 and June 1914 by the French socialist Jules Guesde. p. 239

[125] *Pravdism*, i.e., Bolshevism (from the name of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*). p. 245

[126] *Novo Vreme* (New Times)—a scientific and theoretical journal of the revolutionary wing of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (Tesnyaki), founded by Dimitr Blagoyev in 1897 in Plovdiv and later published in Sofia. In 1903 the journal became the organ of the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (Tesnyaki). Its publication ceased in February 1916 but was resumed in 1919. The editor was Dimitr Blagoyev, its contributors including Georgiyev, Kirkov, Kabakchiev, Kolarov and Petrov. In 1923 the journal was suppressed by the Bulgarian reactionary government. Since 1947 Novo Vreme—the monthly theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. p. 246

[127] This refers to the manifesto "The Chief Enemy Is in Our Own Country", written by Karl Liebknecht. p. 248

[128] *Preussische Jahrbücher*—a monthly of a conservative trend, organ of the German capitalists and landowners, published in Berlin from 1858 to 1935. p. 249

[129] *Gaponade*—derived from the name of Gapon, a priest of the Orthodox Church. On the eve of the first Russian revolution he founded the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers, with the aim of distracting the workers from the revolutionary struggle. In so doing he acted on instructions from the tsarist secret police. On January 9, 1905, Gapon, taking advantage of the growing unrest, provoked the workers into demonstrating before the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg for the purpose of presenting a petition to the tsar. By order of Nicholas II, troops fired at the unarmed demonstrators. This act destroyed the naïve faith of workers throughout the country in the tsar, and served as the starting-point of the first Russian revolution. The political consciousness of the proletariat was aroused and a wave of protest strikes swept Russia. p. 258

[130] On Economism, see this volume, pp. 331-32. p. 258

[131] *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought)—an Economists' paper, published from 1897 to 1902. In his *Iskra* articles and his book

What Is To Be Done? Lenin criticised *Rabochaya Mysl* views as a Russian variety of international opportunism. p. 259

[132] *Rabocheye Dyelo* (The Workers' Cause)—a journal of the Economists, organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. It was published at irregular intervals in Geneva from 1899 to 1902. Lenin criticised the views voiced by the *Rabocheye Dyelo* group, in a number of articles published in *Iskra* and in his book *What Is To Be Done?* p. 259

[133] *The New Statesman*—a Fabian weekly, founded in 1913 in London. Since 1931, published under the name of *New Statesman and Nation*. p. 261

[134] *Bukvoyed*—D. Ryazanov. p. 275

[135] This refers to the tsar's manifesto promulgated on October 17 (30), 1905. It promised "civil liberties" and a "legislative Duma". The manifesto was a concession wrested from the tsarist regime by the revolution, but that concession by no means decided the fate of the revolution as the liberals and Mensheviks claimed. The Bolsheviks exposed the real meaning of the Manifesto and called upon the masses to continue the struggle and overthrow the autocracy.

The first Russian revolution exerted a great revolutionising influence on the working-class movement in other countries, in particular in Austria-Hungary. Lenin pointed out that the news about the tsar's concession and his manifesto, with its promise of "liberties", "played a decisive part in the final victory of universal suffrage in Austria".

Mass demonstrations took place in Vienna and other industrial cities in Austria-Hungary. In Prague barricades were put up. As a result, universal suffrage was introduced in Austria. p. 277

[136] Lenin is referring to the Menshevik liquidators expelled from the R.S.D.L.P. at the Prague Conference, in January 1912. p. 282

[137] The allusion is to Krylov's fable "The Quartet". p. 283

[138] The reference is to the Conference of socialists of Germany and Austria-Hungary, held in Vienna in April 1915. The Conference approved of the social-chauvinist stand taken by the leadership of the German and Austrian socialist parties, which justified the war and stated, in their resolutions, that this did not run counter to proletarian unity and to the workers' international solidarity in the struggle for peace. p. 289

[139] *A. P.*—Anton Pannekoek, the Dutch Left socialist. p. 290

[140] Lenin decided to write the pamphlet *Socialism and War* (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. Towards the War*) in connection with the preparations for the First International Socialist Conference.

G. Y. Zinoviev helped write the pamphlet though most of it was drawn up by Lenin, who, moreover, edited the entire text.

The pamphlet was published in German in September 1915 and distributed among delegates to the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference. In 1916 it was published in French. p. 295

[141] *The International Socialist Conference*, held in Zimmerwald on September 5-8,1915, was the first conference of internationalists in wartime. Attended by 38 delegates from 11 European countries the Conference discussed the following questions: (1) reports of delegates from the various countries, (2) the joint declaration of delegates from Germany and France, (3) the motion tabled by the Zimmerwald Left that a resolution be adopted on basic principles, (4) the Manifesto, (5) the election of the International Socialist Committee (I.S.C.), (6) a resolution of sympathy with war victims and the persecuted.

A struggle flared up at the Conference between the revolutionary internationalists headed by Lenin, and the Kautskyite majority. Lenin formed the Left group at the Conference, in which the Bolsheviks alone adhered to the only correct and consistently internationalist stand against the war. For Lenin's appraisal of the Conference, see his articles "The First Step" and "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Conference, September 5-8, 1915" (in the present volume, pp. 383-88, 389-93). p. 298

[142] See Karl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Bd. 1, S. 28, Berlin, 1902. p. 304

[143] *The Quadruple Entente*—an imperialist alliance of Britain, France, Russia and Italy. The latter joined the Triple Entente after breaking away from the Triple Alliance. p. 305

[144] *Brentanoism*—a bourgeois reformist teaching of the German economist Lujo Brentano, a variety of the bourgeois distortion of Marxism. Brentano advocated a "class truce" in capitalist society, insisted on the possibility of the social contradictions of capitalism being overcome without resorting to class struggle, and maintained that the solution of the working-class problem lay in the organisation of reformist trade unions and the introduction of factory legislation and that the interests of workers and capitalists could be reconciled.

Under the guise of Marxist phrases, Brentano and his followers tried to subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie. p. 311

[145] *Novosti* (News)—a Socialist-Revolutionary daily published in Paris between August 1914 and May 1915. p. 318

[146] *Proletarsky Golos* (The Proletarian Voice)—an illegal paper published by the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., between

February 1915 and December 1916. Four issues appeared, the Manifesto of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P., "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", being published in Issue No. 1. p. 320

[147] See Note 98. p. 325

[148] This refers to the International Socialist Youth Conference on the attitude towards the war, held on April 4-6, 1915, in Berne. The Conference was attended by representatives of youth organisation from ten countries: Russia, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Bulgaria Germany, Poland, Italy, Denmark and Sweden. The Conference passed a decision to celebrate International Youth Day annually, and elected the International Bureau of Socialist Youth, which began publication of *Jugend-Internationale* (The Youth International) in compliance with Conference decisions. V. I. Lenin and Karl Liebknecht contributed to this journal. p. 325

[149] *The Tribunists*—members of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland, whose mouthpiece was the newspaper *De Tribune*. Their leaders were D. Wijnkoop, Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter and Henriette Roland-Holst. Though not a consistent revolutionary party, the Tribunists formed the Left wing of the labour movement in Holland, and during the world imperialist war (1914-18) they adhered to internationalist principles . In 1918 the Tribunists founded the Dutch Communist Party. p. 328

[150] *Luch* (Ray)—a legal daily of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from September 1912 to July 1913.

The newspaper was maintained chiefly by contributions from the liberals. p. 333

[151] *Marxism and Liquidationism. A Symposium of Articles on the Fundamental Issues of the Modern Labour Movement*. Part II was published in July 1914, by Priboi, the Party's publishing house.

A number of articles by Lenin directed against liquidators were published in this symposium. Lenin is referring to the following articles in the symposium: "The Working Class and Its Press", and "How the Workers Responded to the Formation of the R.S.D.L. Group in the Duma" (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 363-71 and 536-43). p. 334

[152] *Leipziger Volkszeitung*—a daily of the Left German Social-Democrats, published from 1894 to 1933. For many years Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg were its editors. From 1917 to 1922 it was the organ of the German Independents. After 1922 it became the organ of the Right-wing Social-Democrats. p. 334

[153] *An*—leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks N. N. Jordania. p. 336

[154] *Internationale Korrespondentz*—a weekly of a social-chauvinist trend dealing with problems of world politics and the working-class movement, published in Berlin from 1914 to 1917. p. 337

[155] *Sovremenny Mir* (The Contemporary World)—a literary, scientific and political journal published in St. Petersburg from 1906 to 1918. Its chief contributors were Mensheviks, including Plekhanov. Bolsheviks contributed to the journal during the bloc with the Plekhanovites, and in early 1914. During World War I (1914-18) it became the organ of the social-chauvinists. p. 337

[156] *Petrova*—Inessa Armand. p. 372

[157] *La Sentinelle*—organ of the Social-Democratic organisation of Neuchâtel Canton, French-speaking Switzerland, published at Chaux-de-Fonds from 1890 onwards. Pursued an internationalist policy in the first years of World War I (1914-18) and its November 13, 1914 issue (No. 265) carried an abridged version of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee Manifesto, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" (see pp. 27-34 of this volume). p. 375

[158] Lenin is referring to Karl Liebknecht's letter of September 2, 1915, addressed to the Zimmerwald International Socialist Conference, which was not published at the time. Liebknecht was unable to take part in the Conference because he was called to the colours as a private, early in 1915. In his letter, Liebknecht called upon the delegates to strive, not for a "class truce" but for civil war, the international unity of socialists of all belligerent countries, a struggle against the imperialist war and a break with the social-chauvinists. The letter was welcomed by most of the delegates. p. 375

[159] Lenin is referring to the Bulletin of the International Socialist Committee in Berne ("*Bulletin*" *Internationale sozialistische Kommission zu Bern*), the Executive of the Zimmerwald organisation. The *Bulletin* was published from September 1915 to January 1917 in English, French and German. Six issues appeared. p. 377

[160] This refers to the period of the Stolypin reaction ushered in by the coup d'état of June 3.

On June 3 (16), 1907, the tsar issued a manifesto dissolving the Second Duma and modifying the electoral law. The new law considerably increased the Duma representation of the landowners and of the trade and industrial bourgeoisie, and greatly reduced the number of peasants' and workers' representatives, which was small enough as it was. This was a gross violation of the Manifesto of October 17, 1905 and the Fundamental Law of 1906 by which no laws could be passed by the government without approval by the Duma. The Third Duma, which was elected on the basis of this law and convened on November 1 (14), 1907, was a Black-Hundred-Octobrist Duma. p. 381

[161] The Conference of the Popular Socialists and the Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia met in July 1915 in Petrograd. The Conference discussed the question of the attitude towards the war and adopted a resolution which called for active participation in the war on the side of tsarism. p. 387

[162] *The French General Confederation of Labour* (Conféderation Général du Travail) was founded in 1895 and strongly influenced by anarcho-syndicalists and reformists. Its leaders recognised only the economic struggle, and opposed the proletarian Party's leadership of the trade union movement. During World War I its leaders sided with the imperialist bourgeoisie. p. 391

[163] See Note 129. p. 392

[164] *War industries committees* were established in Russia in 1915 by the imperialist bourgeoisie. In an attempt to bring the workers under their influence and inculcate defencist sentiments, the bourgeoisie decided to organise "workers' groups" in these committees. It was to the bourgeoisie's advantage to have workers' representatives in these groups, who would call upon the workers to raise labour productivity in the war industries. The Mensheviks took an active part in this pseudo-patriotic measure initiated by the bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks' boycott of the committees was supported by the majority of workers. At a worker delegates' meeting in Petrograd on September 27 (October 10), 1915, the Bolshevik resolution calling for a boycott and for a revolutionary way out of the war obtained 95 votes to the Mensheviks' 81. Only at a second meeting, held without the pro-Bolshevik delegates, were the Mensheviks, led by Gvozdev and an *agent provocateur* Abrosimov, able to elect a "workers' group" of ten.

As a result of Bolshevik propaganda, elections to the "workers' groups" were held in only 70 areas out of a total of 239, and workers representatives were actually elected only in 36 areas. p. 401

[165] *Markov, N. E.*— a reactionary politician of tsarist Russia, big landowner and Deputy from Kursk Gubernia to the Third and Fourth Dumas. p. 402

[166] The programme of the R.S.D.L.P. adopted at the Second Congress of the Party in 1903 consisted of two parts: a minimum programme calling for the overthrow of tsarism, for a democratic republic, the eight-hour day and other demands attainable under capitalism and a maximum programme, formulating the ultimate goal of the working class, viz., socialist revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, the building of a socialist society. p. 404

[167] *Parabellum*—K. Radek. p. 407

[168] See Marx's letters to Engels of June 7 and 20, 1866 and of November 2, 1867. p. 410

[169] *Prizyv* (The Call)—a weekly published in Paris by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, from October 1915 to March 1917. The reference is to Plekhanov's article "Two Lines in the Revolution", published in this newspaper on October 17, 1915. p. 415

[170] *Die Glocke* (The Bell)—a fortnightly journal published in Munich and later in Berlin 1915-25 by Parvus (Alexander Gelfand), a social-

chauvinist member of the German Social-Democratic Party and an agent of German imperialism. p. 421

[171] *Volksstimme* (The People's Voice)—an organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Chemnitz from 1891 onwards. p. 422

[172] The letter is a reply to the league's leaflet received by Lenin in November 1915. The letter is published in full for the first time. p. 423

[173] *The Socialist Party of America* was formed in July 1901 at the congress in Indianapolis as a result of a merger of groups that had broken away from the Socialist Labour Party and the Social-Democratic Party in the U.S.A., among whose founders was Eugene Debs, the popular American labour leader. He was one of the founders of the new party. The social composition of the party was motley: native-born and immigrant workers, small farmers, and people with a petty-bourgeois background. The Centrist and Right-opportunist leaders of the party (V.-L. Berger, Morris Hillquit and others) denied the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, refrained from revolutionary methods of struggle and confined the Party's activities to participation in elections. During World War I three trends formed within the Socialist Party: the social-chauvinists, who supported the government's imperialist policy, the Centrists, who opposed the imperialist war only in word, and the revolutionary minority, who held an internationalist stand and fought against the war. Led by Charles Ruthenberg, William Foster, Bill Haywood and others and with the support of proletarian elements, the Left wing of the Socialist Party waged a struggle against the opportunist leadership of the party, for the workers' independent political activity, and for the formation of industrial trade unions based on the principles of the class struggle. In 1919 the Left-wing split away from the S.P., initiated the formation of the American Communist Party, and became its core.

At present the Socialist Party is a small sectarian organisation.

The Socialist Labour Party of America was formed in 1876 at a congress in Philadelphia, as a result of a merger of the American Sections of the First International and other socialist organisations. The work of the congress was guided by F. A. Sorge, an associate of Marx and Engels. Most of the Party's members were immigrants who had weak links with the American workers. During the first years its leadership was dominated by Lassalleans, who made mistakes of a sectarian and dogmatic nature. Some of the party's leaders considered parliamentary activity the main party task, and underestimated the significance of party guidance of the economic struggle of the masses, while others fell into trade-unionism and anarchism. The ideological and tactical vacillations of its leadership resulted in a number of groups splitting away from the party. Marx and Engels severely criticised the sectarian tactics of American socialists.

In the nineties the leadership of the S.L.P. was taken over by its Left wing under D. De Leon who committed anarcho-syndicalist errors. The S.L.P. refused to fight for working-class partial demands, refused to work in the reformist trade unions, and continued losing its ties with the mass working-class movement, weak as they were. During World War I the Socialist Labour Party inclined towards internationalism. Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution its more revolutionary section actively participated in forming the Communist Party of the U.S.A. At present the S.L.P. is a small organisation without any influence on the U.S. labour movement in the U.S.A. p. 427

[174] *Rabocheye Utro* (The Workers' Morning)—a Menshevik legal daily published in Petrograd from October to December 1915. p. 430

[175] *Petrushka*—a character in Gogol's novel, Dead Souls, who enjoy the process of reading printed matter, without troubling to understand the meaning of what he reads. He keeps on marvelling at the way letters make up words. p. 430

[176] This refers to Trotsky, who in 1910 contributed an anonymous and slanderous article on the state of affairs in the R.S.D.L.P. to the German Social-Democratic *Vorwärts*. At the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International Lenin, Plekhanov and a representative of Polish Social-Democrats exposed this slander in a special statement and protested to the Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party against its publication. p. 430

[177] *K. Oransky*—the Menshevik liquidator G. D. Kuchin, a contributor to *Nasha Zarya*. p. 430

[178] *Repetilov*—a character in Griboyedov's comedy *Wit Works Woe*. p. 432

[179] *A. M.*—A. S. Martynov. p. 433

[180] *The August bloc*—an anti-Party bloc of liquidators, Trotskyists and other opportunists directed against the Bolsheviks. It was founded by Trotsky at a conference of anti-Party groups and trends held in Vienna in August 1912. The overwhelming majority of delegates were resident abroad and out of touch with the working class in Russia; they had no direct links with the Party work in Russia. The conference passed anti-Party liquidationist decisions on all questions of Social-Democratic tactics, and declared against the existence of an illegal Party.

The August bloc, which consisted of ill-assorted elements, soon fell apart at the impact of the Bolsheviks, who defended the illegal workers' party. p. 433

[181] See Note 90. p. 443

[182] See Engels's letters to F. A. Sorge of January 18 and November 11, 1893. p. 448

THE LIFE AND WORK OF V. I. LENIN

Outstanding Dates
(*August 1914-December 1915*)

1914

August 23 (*September 5*)	Lenin arrives in Berne (Switzerland) from Poronin (Galicia).
August 24-26 (*September 6-8*)	Lenin reports on the attitude towards the war at a conference of the Bolsheviks, in Berne. His theses on the war are adopted as a resolution of the Social-Democratic group.
Late August-September	Lenin writes the draft of the article "The European War and International Socialism". The article was not completed.
	Lenin sends his theses on the war to Bolshevik groups abroad and to Russia for discussion by the Russian section of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., Party organisations and the Duma group.
August-November 1	Lenin continues writing the article "Karl Marx" for the Granat Encyclopaedia. The article was not completed.
September 1 (*27*)	Lenin's theses on the war are discussed at the Conference of Italian and Swiss Socialists in Lugano (Switzerland). A number of the propositions contained in the theses are incorporated in the Conference resolution.
Prior to September 27 (*October 10*)	Lenin delivers a lecture on the war, in Berne.
September 27 (*October 10*)	In Berne, Lenin takes part in the discussion on V. Kosovsky's report "The War and Social-Democracy".
Prior to September 28 (*October 11*)	Lenin draws up the manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", and instructs the Geneva Bolshevik group to publish it as a pamphlet.
September 28 (*October 11*)	In Lausanne, Lenin takes part in the discussion on Plekhanov's report "The Attitude of the

	Socialists Towards the War", and criticises his chauvinist stand.
September-October	Lenin works on his pamphlet "The European War and European Socialism", collects material, makes extracts from books and articles in the Russian and foreign press, makes notes, draws up a conspectus and plan of the pamphlet. It was not written.
October 1 (14)	Lenin delivers a lecture on "The Proletariat and the War" in Lausanne.
October 2 (15)	Lenin makes a report "The European War and Socialism", in Geneva.
October 3 (16)	Lenin returns to Berne where he learns that the Russian section of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee supports his theses on the war.
October 4 (17)	Lenin decides to resume publication of the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P., and gives the Bolshevik group in Geneva practical instructions for its publication.
October 13 (26)	At Clarens, near Montreux (Switzerland), Lenin delivers a lecture on the war.
Not earlier than October 14 (27)	Lenin delivers a lecture "The War and Social-Democracy", in Zurich.
October 19 (November 1)	After one year's interval, publication of *Sotsial-Demokrat* is resumed under Lenin's editorship. No. 33 of the newspaper carries the manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" and the article "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International".
Between October 29 and November 8 (November 11-21)	Lenin writes a letter to the editors of *Vorwärts* and the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* protesting against the distorted reports of his Zurich lecture on the war.
October 31 (November 13)	The manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" is published in abridged form in the Swiss newspaper *La Sentinelle*.
November 4 (17)	Lenin sends the "Karl Marx" manuscript to the publishers of the Granat Encyclopaedia in Russia.
Not later than November 5 (18)	Lenin sends the manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" to French, English and German Social-Democratic newspapers.

November 8 (*21*) Lenin instructs the Bolshevik group in Geneva to arrange for Inessa Armand's lecture in French: "Various Trends Among Russian Socialists on the Question of the War".

November 22 (*December 5*) Lenin's article "A German Voice on the War" is published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 34.

After November 23 (*December 6*) Lenin replies to a question from the British Independent Labour Party concerning the Bolsheviks' attitude towards the war and the peace programme.

November 29 (*December 12*) Lenin's articles "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism (How the International Can be Restored?)" and "On the National Pride of the Great Russians" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 35.

December 3 (*16*) Lenin criticises Martov's report "The War and the Crisis of Socialism" in Berne.

December 25 (*January 7 1915*) Lenin writes a letter on behalf of the Bureau Abroad of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee condemning the separatist actions of the anti-Party Baugy group of Bukharin and Pyatakov, who intended publishing their own newspaper without a decision by the Central Committee.

December 27 (*January 9, 1915*) Lenin's article "What Next? (On the Tasks Confronting the Workers' Parties with Regard to Opportunism and Social-Chauvinism)" appears in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 36.

September 1914-May 1915 At the Berne Library, Lenin studies the works of Feuerbach, Hegel, Aristotle and other philosophers, collects material for his "Notebooks on Philosophy", draws up conspectuses, and writes notes on materialist dialectics.

1915

January 19 (*February 1*) Lenin's articles "The Kind of 'Unity' Larin Proclaimed at the Swedish Congress" and "The Russian Brand of Südekum" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 37.

January 27 (*February 9*) Lenin writes a letter to the *Nashe Slovo* editors, and a draft declaration of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee for the London Conference of the Socialists of the Entente countries. He sends to M. M. Litvinov, the Russian representative on the International Socialist Bureau, a copy of the declaration to be read at the Conference.

February 10 (*23*) Lenin addresses a joint protest meeting held in Berne by the Social-Democrats and trade union

	members, denouncing the arrest of the Bolshevik Duma deputies in Russia.
February 14-19 (*February 27-March 4*)	Lenin directs the Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad held in Berne, makes a report on the central item of the agenda: "The War and the Tasks of the Party", and drafts the Conference resolutions.
February 18 (*March 3*)	Lenin's articles "How the Police and the Reactionaries Protect the Unity of German Social-Democracy" and "On the London Conference" are published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 39.
Not earlier than February	Lenin writes the article "Under a False Flag", which is first published in 1917 in the *Collection* of the *Priliv* Publishers in Moscow.
March 10 (*23*)	Lenin sends a letter to the editors of Nashe Slovo exposing the social-chauvinist views of the Menshevik Organising Committee and the Bund.
March 13-15 (*26-28*)	Lenin directs the work of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee's delegation to the International Socialist Women's Conference in Berne.
March 16 (*29*)	Lenin's articles "The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad", "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group?", "On the London Conference" and "The Slogan of Civil War Illustrated" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40.
March 22-24 (*April 4-6*)	Lenin directs the work of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee's delegation to the International Socialist Youth Conference in Berne.
Not earlier than April 1 (*27*)	Lenin writes a conspectus of the report "May Day and the War".
April 18 (*May 1*)	Lenin's articles "The Social-Chauvinists' Sophisms", "The Question of the Unity of Internationalists" and "Bourgeois Philanthropists and Revolutionary Social-Democracy" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 41.
Prior to April 19 (*May 2*)	Lenin gives directives to the Paris Bolshevik group on setting up a club of internationalist Social-Democrats to fight social-chauvinism.
April 22 (*May 5*)	Lenin approves the Dutch Socialists' plan to bring out an international socialist magazine and gives practical advice concerning the publication, in foreign languages, of pamphlets against international social-chauvinism.

May 8 (21)	Lenin's article "The Collapse of Platonic Internationalism" appears in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 42.
Prior to May 9 (22)	Lenin takes part in preparations for the publication of the magazine *Kommunist*.
May 12 (25)	The Committee Abroad of Social-Democracy of the Lettish Area invites Lenin to represent Lettish Social-Democrats at a conference of socialist parties of neutral countries.
May 19 (June 1)	Lenin's article "On the Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism" appears in the Supplement to *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 42.
Prior to May 24 (June 6)	Lenin leaves Berne and goes to the mountain village of Sörenberg (Switzerland).
Second half of May-first half of June	Lenin writes the article "The Collapse of the Second International".
June-July	Lenin writes the articles "British Pacifism and the British Dislike of Theory" and "How Servility to Reaction Is Blended with Playing at Democracy".
July 13 (26)	Lenin writes the article "The Main German Opportunist Works on the War".
July-August	Lenin's articles "The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War" and "The State of Affairs in Russian Social-Democracy" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 43.
August 7 (20)	Lenin establishes contacts, by correspondence, with Left internationalists and Social-Democrats in different countries with a view to uniting them for the forthcoming International Socialist Conference and instructs Bolshevik groups to get in touch with internationalists in different countries; he issues directives on the translation and publication of the Party's main documents—the manifesto of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee on the war, Berne Conference resolutions, etc.; he forwards to Scandinavia his "Draft Declaration of the Zimmerwald Left" for translation into the Swedish and Norwegian languages and subsequent distribution among Left Social-Democrats in Sweden and Norway; he writes the articles "The 'Peace' Slogan Appraised" and "The Question of Peace", and the pamphlet "Socialism and War". Lenin receives his mandate as the Lettish Social-Democratic Party's delegate to the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference.

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

August 10 (23)	Lenin's article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" is published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 44.
Prior to August 20 (September 2)	Lenin arranges for the publication of the pamphlet "Socialism and War" in German, and writes the "Draft Declaration of the Zimmerwald Left".
August 20-22 (September 2-4)	Lenin comes to Zimmerwald to attend the International Socialist Conference.
August 22 (September 4)	Lenin directs a private conference of the Left Social-Democratic delegates to the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference, and speaks at the Conference on the character of the war and the tactics of international Social-Democracy.
August 23-26 (September 5-8)	Lenin takes part in the work of the Zimmerwald Conference, and organises and rallies its Left wing,
Between August 23 and 26 (September 5-8)	Lenin's pamphlet "Socialism and War" comes out in German, and is circulated among delegates to the Zimmerwald Conference.
August 29-30 (September 11-12)	*Kommunist* No. 1-2 carries Lenin's articles "The Collapse of the Second International", "The Voice of an Honest French Socialist" and "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy (A Note)".
August	Lenin writes "An Appeal on the War".
Summer	Lenin writes the article "We Are Thankful for Such Frankness".
Not earlier than September 12 (25)	Lenin sends a letter to the International Socialist Committee.
Second half of September	Lenin writes the article "The Defeat of Russia and the Revolutionary Crisis".
Between September 18 and 23 (October 1-6)	Lenin returns to Berne from Sörenberg.
September 28 (October 11)	Lenin's articles "The First Step" and "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference, September 5-8, 1915" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 45-46.
Autumn, not earlier than September 28 (October 11)	Lenin writes the article "Kautsky, Axelrod, and Martov—True Internationalists".

September 30 (October 13)	Lenin's article "Several Theses. Proposed by the Editors" appears in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 47.
September	Lenin draws up a plan for the publication of a series of anti-war leaflets; edits Alexandra Kollontai's pamphlet "Who Needs the War", sends 500 copies of "Socialism and War" in German to Kollontai in Scandinavia for distribution there and instructs her to arrange for the English-language publication of the pamphlet in America.
Not earlier than October 16 (29)	Lenin writes the article "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination".
Late October	Lenin arranges for the publication of the draft resolution and the Manifesto of the Zimmerwald Left in German and French, and instructs Kollontai to get them published in America in English.
November 2 (15)	Lenin is invited to attend the meeting of the Executive of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, held on November 20, 1915.
November 7 (20)	Lenin's articles "On the Two Lines in the Revolution" and "At the Uttermost Limit" appear in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 48.
Prior to November 9 (22)	Lenin sends a letter to the secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League in the U.S.A.
December 8 (21)	Lenin's article "Social-Chauvinist Policy Behind a Cover of Internationalist Phrases" appears in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 49.
1915	Lenin writes the book "New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture. Part One. Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America".
End of 1915	Lenin writes the article "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International".

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 21

На английскот языке